A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

VOL. XI.

LONDON:
Printed for S. CROWDER and Co. in *Pater-noster-Row*, and J. WILKIE, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard.*

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* HENRY III. *continued.*

THE Welch were probably encouraged to undertake this war by the expectation of ſome diſturbances ariſing in Scotland; and, in fact, the earls of Montieth, Buchan, Mar, and Roſs, with ſeveral other diſcontented noblemen, had ſeized the perſons of Alexander and his queen; diſplaced the council appointed by Henry; and expelled all the Engliſh out of the

kingdom, which they now governed by their ſole authority.

Llewellyn embraced the opportunity of entering into a league with this faction of the Scotch nobility; and both parties engaged not to make peace with England unleſs by common conſent. But Henry having ordered the barons of the northern counties to march to the aſſiſtance of his friends in Scotland, the malecontents, glad of any agreement that would leave them in poſſeſſion of their power, were eaſily perſuaded to compromiſe the diſpute.

Llewellyn, affected with the miſeries of his country, which had ſuffered ſeverely by the late rupture with England, and deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance from his Scotch allies, who had broke the convention, thought proper to ſue for a peace, which he even offered to purchaſe with a conſiderable ſum of money; but Henry refuſed to grant his requeſt; though next year he agreed to a truce for fifteen months, without receiving any gratification.

It is ſomewhat ſtrange that Henry, amidſt all his diſtreſs for want of money, ſhould be the firſt prince that ever coined gold in England; and yet nothing is more certain. The piece he ordered to be

ſtruck

ſtruck was of pure gold, and weighed two ſterlings, or ſilver pennies; but this coin gave great offence to the citizens of London, who petitioned againſt it, probably on account of ſome deficiency in the weight; and Henry, unwilling to diſoblige ſuch a powerful body, publiſhed a proclamation to cry it down, deſiring all thoſe who had taken it in payment, to bring it to his Exchange, where they ſhould receive the current value, deducting one halfpenny for the coinage.

Mean while, the nuncio Ruſtan returned to England with power to excommunicate the king, if he would not immediately undertake the conqueſt of Sicily. Henry, alarmed at theſe menaces, and incapable of engaging in ſuch a difficult enterpriſe, intreated his holineſs to mitigate the terms upon which the grant had been originally made; and this application proving ineffectual, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, in the name of his ſon Edmund to renounce all claim to this imaginary crown, which had already drained his coffers of ſuch immenſe ſums of money.

But this was by no means what Alexander wanted: he conſidered the project merely as a decoy to draw Henry into a compliance with his exorbitant and cruel exactions; and he knew that no other

prince in Chriſtendom was at once ſo able and ſo willing to ſupply him with caſh. Far, therefore, from accepting the renunciation, he ſent a new nuncio, named Arlot, with power to alter the convention in favour of Henry; and inſtructions to engage him in a more vigorous proſecution of the ſcheme, by levying freſh contributions on the clergy.*

For this purpoſe, he ordered the nuncio to publiſh a new bull, commanding the biſhops to pay the tythes granted to the king on pain of excommunication, and notwithſtanding all objections, appeals, or exemptions.

Such intolerable acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, and ſuch complicated ſcenes of fraud and cozenage, could not fail to arouze the indignation of any people who were poſſeſſed of the leaſt ſenſe of freedom and independence. The clergy groaned under theſe intolerable exactions; the people clamoured aloud againſt the avarice of the court of Rome, which had drained the kingdom of incredible ſums of money, amounting to upwards of nine hundred and fifty thouſand marks; and the barons were equally enraged at the inſolence and tyranny of the pope, and the weakneſs and puſillanimity of the king, and could not

* A. D. 1258.

not behold, without a mixture of ſcorn and reſentment, the firſt poſts of the kingdom conferred on foreign favourites.

They had often endeavoured to reform the conduct of Henry by the moſt wholſome advice, and the moſt ſpirited remonſtrances; they had even bound him to his duty by the moſt ſolemn and repeated oaths; but theſe he had no ſooner taken than he broke, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or decorum.

Finding it, therefore, impoſſible to ſecure this Proteus, as he is juſtly ſtiled by an ancient hiſtorian, they reſolved to take ſome more effectual method for reforming the abuſes of government, and procuring a redreſs of their grievances. With this view, they held ſeveral conferences on the ſubject, and determined, as the firſt ſtep towards the execution of their deſign, to expel the foreign counſellors.

It was not long before Henry furniſhed them with an opportunity of beginning the intended reformation; for he ſoon after aſſembled a parliament, and demanded a large ſubſidy for attempting the conqueſt of Sicily. Had he really intended to provoke them, he could hardly have mentioned any thing more likely to produce that effect. They had been ſo oppreſſed with taxes, in order to furniſh money for this

this ridiculous project, that they could not hear it named without indignation.

Far, therefore, from granting his requeſt, they loudly complained of his breach of promiſe, and of all the calamities and misfortunes which his folly and miſconduct had brought upon the nation. In vain did he endeavour to ſooth them by a frank confeſſion of his errors, and an aſſurance of his future amendment. This artifice had been ſo frequently repeated, that it had now loſt its effect. They plainly told him, they could not truſt to his word, and were therefore determined, by their own authority, to reform the abuſes of government, ſo as to put it out of his power to hurt them.

Alarmed at this declaration, he promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to agree to any meaſures which they ſhould judge neceſſary for the public good; he even granted a writing, ſubſcribed with his own hand, by which he conſented that four and twenty noblemen ſhould be choſen, twelve by himſelf, and twelve by the parliament, to draw up the articles of reformation; and the more fully to convince them of the ſincerity of his intention, he cauſed his ſon Edward to ſign the ſame obligation.

It is not likely that Henry would have made theſe conceſſions, had he been able to prevent it; but he knew it was impoſſible to ſwim againſt the ſtream; he ſaw that a ſtrong party was formed againſt him by ſome of the moſt powerful barons in the kingdom, ſuch as Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, high ſteward of England, Humphry de Bohun, high conſtable, Roger Bigod, earl mareſchal, and Richard de Clare, earl of Glouceſter, who were fully determined to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and extend and ſecure the liberties of the people.

On the third day of the ſeſſion, they came into the parliament-houſe, clad in armour; and though, upon the king's entrance, they laid their ſwords aſide, he was yet ſo terrified at this unuſual appearance, that he aſked, with great emotion, if he was a priſoner?* To this queſtion Roger Bigod replied, that he was not a priſoner; but that they were firmly reſolved to clear the kingdom of all the Poitevins, and

* This remarkable incident is entirely omitted by Rapin; and the circumſtance of the barons laying aſide their ſwords, upon the king's entering the houſe, is paſſed over in ſilence by ſome of our lateſt hiſtorians; but the annals of Theokeſbury, from which the whole account is taken, are as clear and expreſs with regard to this particular, as any other part of the ſtory.

and other foreigners, and redreſs the grievances of the nation; adding, that if he would engage to regulate his conduct by the advice and direction of the twenty-four noblemen to be choſen for his council, and endeavour to obtain more favourable conditions with regard to the crown of Sicily, they would exert their utmoſt efforts in order to procure him a ſupply of money for effecting the conqueſt of that kingdom.

Henry, knowing it was in vain to reſiſt, readily complied with their propoſal, and appointed a parliament to meet at Oxford on the eleventh of June, when every thing was to be ſettled to their entire ſatisfaction.

But the barons, without depending upon his word, which he had ſo frequently broken, ſummoned together their military vaſſals, and thus attended repaired to Oxford, at the time preſcribed, with a determined reſolution to execute their deſign.

The firſt ſtep taken by the parliament was to chooſe the council of the four and twenty; * and Simon de Monfort was at the

* The king's council was compoſed of Fulk Baſſet, biſhop of London, Aymer de Valence, elect of Winchester, Henry ſon of Richard king of the Romans, Guy de Luſignan, William de Valence, John earl of Warenne,

the head of the twelve who were nominated by the barons. The election was no ſooner finiſhed, than the commiſſioners began to deliberate upon the intended reformation; and after a few conferences on the ſubject, they at laſt agreed to the following articles: That the king ſhould confirm the Great Charter which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and as often violated; that the office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and rich without favour or partiality; that the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other miniſters of the public ſhould be choſen annually by the council of four and twenty; that the parliament ſhould meet three times every year,* to enact ſuch laws as ſhould be found

Warenne, John earl of Warwick, John Manſel, juſticiary, J. de Derlington, abbot of Weſtminſter, and Henry de Wigham, chancellor.

Thoſe elected by the barons were, Walter de Canteloupe, biſhop of Worceſter; the earls of Leiceſter, Hereford, Glouceſter, and Mareſchal, Roger Mortimer, John Fitz-Geoffry, Hugh Bigod, brother to the earl mareſchal, Richard de Grey, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh d'Eſpenſer. *M. Paris. Annal. Burton.*

* In this account we have followed the annals of Burton, where the reſolutions of the council are drawn

found neceſſary for the good of the public.

Theſe articles, which from the place where they were drawn up, were called the Statutes or Proviſions of Oxford, were immediately approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the aſſent of the king and prince Edward, who ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and cauſed them to be obſerved to the utmoſt of their power. Nevertheleſs they were not enacted without oppoſition; the earl of Warenne refuſed to ſign them: Prince Edward began to repent of the oath he had taken, and endeavoured to free himſelf from that obligation, and Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, openly proteſted againſt thoſe or any other regulations of the like nature that ſhould be made in the abſence of his father. The earl of Leiceſter, provoked at the forwardneſs of ſuch a ſtripling, told him, that ſhould his father refuſe to concur with the barons in reforming the abuſes of government, he ſhould not preſerve one foot of land in England.

But

drawn up in form, and where it is expreſsly ſaid that there ſhould be three parliaments every year; the firſt to meet eight days after Michaelmas; the ſecond, the day after Candlemas; and the third, on the firſt of June. Rapin makes the parliament to meet only once every year, and Dr. Smollet but once in three years.

But the greateſt oppoſition was made by the foreigners, and eſpecially by the king's uterine brothers, againſt whoſe exorbitant power and influence the ſtatutes were chiefly levelled. William de Valence declared, that he would not reſign the caſtles which had been committed to his care by the royal authority; and Leiceſter, who was naturally warm and paſſionate, told him that he ſhould either part with the caſtles or with his head.

Alarmed at this declaration, William, and his brothers, began to ſuſpect that ſome deſign was formed againſt their lives, and, in order to avoid the impending danger, withdrew privately to the ſea-ſide, in hope of making their eſcape to the Continent; but finding it impoſſible to procure a veſſel, they took refuge in the caſtle of Wolveſham, which belonged to the ſee of Wincheſter.

The barons were no ſooner informed of their flight, than they broke up their aſſembly and purſued them to that city, where, without any formal adjournment, they reſumed their former deliberations, and finiſhed the ſeſſion of parliament.

As they could not attack the caſtle to which the brothers had fled, without violating the privileges of the church, and expoſing themſelves to the reſentment of the

clergy, whose favour and friendship they were extremely sollicitous to preserve, they thought it most adviseable to have recourse to a negociation. They, therefore, proposed that they should instantly depart the kingdom, and continue abroad until the state should be reformed, when the king might, by the advice and consent of his council, permit them to return; and though Henry interposed in their behalf, and offered security for their peaceable behaviour, they still insisted that Guy and Geoffry should go into exile, but that the other two might remain in the kingdom, provided they would submit to such confinement as the barons should appoint, until the troubles of the nation were fully composed.

To these conditions William and Aymer refused to agree. Unwilling to be deprived of their liberty, and afraid of being left at the mercy of their enemies, they rather chose to go abroad with their brothers, even though their estates should be sequestered by the barons, who allowed them the sum of six thousand marks for their present subsistence, and promised to account for the rest of their rents as soon as they should return to England.

In consequence of this agreement, they were furnished with a safe-conduct; and, after having been stripped of one thousand marks,

marks, embarked at Dover on the fourteenth of July. They were no ſooner departed, than all their treaſure, which they had depoſited in ſeveral religious houſes, was ſeized; their lands confiſcated; and agents diſpatched to Rome with letters to the pope, deſiring him to deprive Aymer of the adminiſtration of Wincheſter; and, in the mean time, the monks of St. Swithin were ordered to proceed to the election of a new biſhop, as if the ſee had been really vacant.

The kingdom being thus cleared of theſe foreign interlopers, who were juſtly conſidered as the authors of all the calamities under which the nation had lately groaned, the barons bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to ſtand by one another, and maintain the ſtatutes of Oxford, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

At the ſame time they invited the citizens of London to join in their aſſociation; and this propoſal was readily embraced by the Londoners, who had ſuffered more than any other part of the nation, from the arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures of Henry.

But though the barons were probably animated by a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, in attempting to reform the abuſes of government; yet, in the proſecution of this laud-

able work, they ſeem to have overſhot the mark, and made too violent encroachments on the royal prerogative. It had been provided in the articles, that, if any of the four and twenty ſhould be abſent, the reſt ſhould have a power of nominating others to ſupply their places; and the barons laid hold of this pretext, to chooſe a council for the king, conſiſting of fifteen noblemen; all of whom, except one or two, were attached to their intereſt.

By this means they engroſſed the entire direction of public affairs, and governed the kingdom according to their pleaſure. They obliged the people to take an oath that they would pay an implicit obedience to their commands; and reſolved that all who ſhould preſume to oppoſe or neglect their orders, ſhould be conſidered as traitors, and treated accordingly. They beſtowed all places of truſt and honour upon their own friends and relations, reduced the king's prerogative to a mere ſhadow, and even held parliaments without his conſent or knowledge. In one of theſe, which was aſſembled at Wincheſter, they proceeded, in a judicial manner, againſt the foreigners whom they had expelled the kingdom, and by an authentic act condemned them to perpetual exile.

They

They then diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to juſtify their conduct to his holineſs. They gave him to underſtand, that they could not grant his requeſt with regard to the conqueſt of Sicily, becauſe the king had engaged in that undertaking without the advice of his parliament, which ought to be conſulted in all matters of importance; and without conſidering the ſtate of the kingdom, which was altogether unable to ſupport the charges of ſuch an expedition; they added, that the conditions of the gift were extremely hard, and even impracticable; but that if his holineſs would render the terms more juſt and equitable, they would exert their utmoſt efforts in carrying the ſcheme into execution. They aſſured him, that the weakneſs and incapacity of the king, had obliged them to have recourſe to the ſtatutes of Oxford, as the only means of delivering the kingdom from thoſe troubles and calamities in which the pernicious counſels of foreigners had involved it. They mentioned the biſhop of Wincheſter, as the principal author of all the miſchiefs with which England had been lately afflicted. They accuſed him of many enormous crimes, particularly of adviſing the king to violate his oath and promiſe; and as on all theſe accounts they conſidered him as an

enemy to the kingdom, they declared their reſolution never to ſuffer him to return to England.*

The pope was far from being ſatisfied with this juſtification. He wanted to continue his former practice of extorting money from the king, on account of the Sicilian project; and was, therefore, enraged at the barons for thwarting a ſcheme, from which he had promiſed himſelf ſuch conſiderable advantages. However, as he was unwilling to provoke them with any menaces, which, after all, perhaps, he could not have put in execution, he delayed giving an anſwer to their remonſtrance; and, in the mean time, encouraged Henry in private with aſſurances of protection.

Nevertheleſs he ſtill preſſed him to pay the arrears due to the Italian merchants, and, though no ſtranger to the king's poverty, he even fixed a time for the diſcharge of that obligation, at the expiration of which the biſhop of London was empowered to excommunicate all the debtors of thoſe merchants, without regard to rank or quality. But the biſhop was too prudent to attempt

* The ambaſſadors who carried this letter to Rome, accuſed Guy de Luſignan, one of the brothers, of having roaſted the king's cook, and put him to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures. *M. Paris.*

tempt the execution of this order; and the conqueſt of Sicily was conſidered as a vain and chimerical project, big with ruin and miſchief to the kingdom of England.

Mean while Henry, deprived of his royal authority, and reduced to a mean dependance upon the barons, was forced to agree to whatever they propoſed, and to ſign orders every day entirely deſtructive of the prerogative of the crown. Of all thoſe noblemen, the perſon whom he at once hated and dreaded moſt, was the earl of Leiceſter, his own brother-in-law; and, notwithſtanding the dangerous ſituation in which he was placed, he could not help diſcovering his ſentiments on this ſubject. One day, as he was going by water to the Tower, he was ſurpriſed with a ſudden ſtorm, attended with thunder and lightening, at which he was ſo much terrified, that he ordered his people to row him aſhore at the firſt ſtairs, which happened to be near Durham-houſe, where the earl of Leiceſter reſided. Upon his landing he was received by the earl himſelf, who, ſeeing him in great perturbation, told him he need not be ſo much afraid, as the ſtorm was now over: "I own, indeed," ſaid Henry, "I am a-"fraid of the ſtorm; but, by God's head, "I am more afraid of thee, than of all

"the

" the thunder and lightening in the uni-
" verſe." *

Henry had, indeed, ſome reaſon to be afraid of the earl of Leiceſter, not as a man who had any deſigns upon his life, but as one who was the ſoul of the confederacy, and was moſt likely to prevent him from recovering that authority of which he had been deprived. Richard, king of the Romans, having acquainted the barons, by letter, that he intended to come over to England, and aſſiſt them in appeaſing the troubles of the kingdom; they gave him to underſtand, that they would not ſuffer him to ſet foot on Engliſh ground, until he ſhould have ſworn to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford.†

Richard received this mortifying meſſage, with equal ſurprize and indignation; he told

* The learned reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee this curions anecdote, in the words of the original author: Comes ait; " Quid eſt quod timetis? Jam " tempeſtas pertranſiit:" Cui rex non jocoſé ſed ſerio reſpondit, vultuque ſevero; " Supra modum tonitrum " et fulgur formido; ſed per caput Dei, plus te quam " totius mundi tonitrum et fulgur contremiſco:" Cui comes benigne reſpondit; " Domine mi, injuſtum et " incredibile eſt ut me amicum veſtrum ſtabilem, et " ſemper vobis, et veſtris, et regno Angliæ fidelem pa- " veatis; ſed inimicos veſtros, deſtructores, et falſi- " dicos timere debetis." *M. Paris*, p. 974.

† A. D. 1259.

told the deputies who brought it, that he was amazed at the preſumption of the barons, who had dared to change the form of government, without his knowledge or concurrence: he proteſted, that he would never take the oath which they meant to impoſe upon him; and that, in ſpite of all their efforts, he would return to England.

But this reſolute anſwer produced an effect very different from what he either hoped or intended: inſtead of intimidating, it only ſerved to put the barons upon their guard: they immediately equipped a fleet and army, in order to oppoſe his landing; and as he was by no means able to contend with ſuch powerful adverſaries, he was at laſt obliged to agree to their propoſal. On this condition he was ſuffered to come over; and, on his arrival at Dover, he took the oath in preſence of the king and a great number of barons, who had aſſembled to receive him.*

The

* On this occaſion the barons behaved with ſuch a reſolute and determined ſpirit, that they would not honour Richard with the title of king of the Romans, but only with that of earl of Cornwall, and in this laſt character obliged him to take the oath; in which they certainly acted according to the dictates of common ſenſe, and in a perfect conſiſtency with the true genius of the Engliſh conſtitution. This circumſtance, however, gave ſuch offence to the German noblemen who

The barons were extremely anxious to preſerve a good underſtanding with all the neighbouring princes, leſt a foreign war ſhould prevent them from accompliſhing the work which they had ſo happily begun.

They were particularly apprehenſive of ſome diſturbances on the ſide of France, as Lewis might poſſibly be tempted to embrace the preſent opportunity of puſhing his conqueſts in Guienne. They therefore reſolved to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace with that monarch, and, in order to facilitate the treaty, propoſed to ſacrifice all Henry's rights to Normandy and Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter was charged with this commiſſion, and immediately ſet out for Paris, to make the propoſal to Lewis; and that prince, who could hardly have expected ſuch favourable terms, accepted the offer with great alacrity, and forthwith concluded a treaty, which Henry was afterwards obliged to ſign.

Nor was this all: he was even perſuaded to meet the French king at Abbeville, where, in an aſſembly of the ſtates of France,

who attended Richard, and who probably placed all merit in high and ſounding titles, that they immediately returned to their own country; rather amazed at the inſolence of the barons, who thus preſumed to confound the diſtinction of ranks, than charmed with their prudence and good ſenſe, in acting like the members of a free government.

France, he renounced all claim to Normandy and Anjou; and Lewis, to conſole him for this loſs, ceded in his favour all the Limouſin and Perigord, together with all that France poſſeſſed beyond the Garonne, upon condition that he would do him homage, and take his ſeat among the peers of the realm, as duke of Guienne.

While Henry was abroad, the council of four and twenty employed their time to very good purpoſe, in redreſſing a grievance which the pope's avarice, and the king's folly, had conſpired to introduce. All the beſt benefices of the kingdom were poſſeſſed by Italian eccleſiaſtics, who, without reſiding on their livings, farmed their revenues to uſurers or religious houſes, and the money was remitted to Italy, by which means the country was almoſt entirely drained of its ſpecie.

In order to reform this abuſe, the governors iſſued a proclamation, commanding all perſons who farmed benefices belonging to Italians, to pay the revenues to certain receivers appointed for the purpoſe, on pain of ſeeing their houſes levelled with the ground. The people were too well acquainted with the ſpirit and vigour of the preſent government, to venture to diſobey ſuch an order; and the kingdom was accordingly freed from thoſe Italian leeches,

who

who had so long continued to suck the best blood of the nation.

The unanimity and concord with which the barons had hitherto behaved in all their deliberations, now began to be destroyed by the ambition of the earl of Leicester, who engrossed the authority of the whole council, and erected himself into a kind of petty sovereign.*

Such a conduct could not fail to raise the indignation of his colleagues: the earl of Gloucester, in particular, was so incensed at his presumption, that he endeavoured to form a party against him, in order to oppose his measures, and undermine his interest. He began first of all with blaming his conduct in private conversation; and insinuated, that he had entered into a league with prince Edward, whom he designed to place upon the throne, even in the life-time of his father. This groundless and ridiculous report having reached the ears of Henry, who was then at St. Omer, he was struck with such a panic, that he could not resolve upon his return to England; until Edward, apprised of his apprehensions, vindicated his innocence in such a manner, as entirely effaced his father's suspicions.

Gloucester, baffled in this attempt, attacked Leicester openly, accusing him of several malversations, as well in Guienne as in

* A. D. 1260.

in England; and demanded that a day ſhould be fixt for examining the impeachment which he intended to bring againſt him. A day was accordingly appointed, and the earl of Leiceſter appeared in court, in order to make his defence; but Glouceſter, either conſcious of his own want of evidence, or dreading the power of his adverſary, deſired the trial might be deferred on account of the abſence of ſome of his witneſſes.

This quarrel would probably have been attended with many fatal conſequences, had not the king of the Romans interpoſed his good offices, and reconciled the parties, as well as appeaſed his nephew Edward, who was greatly enraged againſt the earl of Glouceſter.

This reconciliation being happily effected, he ſet out for Germany, in compliance with an invitation he had received from the princes who had ſent deputies to aſſure him, that, if he would now come over, he might obtain the Imperial crown without oppoſition. At the ſame time, prince Edward repaired to the Continent, in order to ſettle the affairs of Gaſcony, and compromiſe ſome differences with his brother-in-law, the king of Caſtile.

Richard found, upon his arrival in Germany, that the princes had cajoled him with promiſes which they were not able to

perform; he saw they were more than ever divided into parties and factions; and as he plainly perceived that he could not carry his point without dissipating immense sums of money, which he could not afford to expend, he forthwith abandoned the project, and returned to England.

He there found the king and queen of Scotland, who had lately come to pay a visit to Henry. After a short stay at the English court, Alexander went back to his own kingdom; but his queen remaining behind him, was delivered at Windsor of her eldest daughter, named Margaret.

Soon after arrived John de Dreux, duke of Brittany, who came to espouse Beatrix, the king's second daughter; and, on this occasion, the court was extremely numerous and brilliant; for, though the barons had very little respect for the person of Henry, yet, for the honour of the nation, they received these illustrious guests with great splendour and magnificence.

This, however, could afford but small satisfaction to Henry, who, not having the management of his revenues, could claim no merit from the favourable reception that was given to his own son-in-law. His chagrin was greatly encreased, by a fresh exercise of that authority which had formerly belonged to the crown, and which was

now

now uſurped by the barons. In a parliament which was aſſembled about this time, the council of four and twenty filled up the places of thoſe public miniſters who had either reſigned, or were lately dead. Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely, was appointed keeper of the great ſeal; the office of treaſurer was conferred upon the abbot of Peterborough; and Hugh d'Eſpenſer was declared juſticiary of the realm.

Theſe, and many other circumſtances of the like nature, concurred to inflame the reſentment of Henry, and make him reſolve to deliver himſelf from that wretched condition to which he was reduced. But as he had nobody about him to whom he could impart his thoughts, or by whoſe advice he could hope to accompliſh his purpoſe, he privately invited his brother Aymer, biſhop of Wincheſter, to return to England, hoping that his own character, and the protection of the pope, who had now confirmed his election, would ſcreen him from the perſecution of the barons.

In conſequence of this invitation, Aymer had actually ſet out on his journey for England, where his preſence would certainly have occaſioned ſome freſh commotions; but, happily for the peace of the kingdom, he was carried off by a ſudden death at Paris, to the great joy of the barons, who,

however averſe they were to his return, could not have denied him an entrance into the iſland, without incurring the reſentment of the pope, which it was their intereſt to avoid.

This accident, however, did not hinder the king from perſiſting in his deſign of throwing off the ſhameful yoke which the barons had impoſed upon him. He flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to derive ſome advantage from the unexpected quarrel between the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, who, though reconciled in appearance, were ſtill in their hearts inveterate enemies; and, full of theſe hopes, he deſired the pope to abſolve him from the oath he had taken, to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford.

This favour he eaſily obtained from his holineſs, whoſe intereſt was no leſs concerned than that of Henry, in reſtoring the government to its ancient form; but Alexander dying before the diſpenſation could be ſealed, he was obliged to wait until a new pope was elected. Urban IV. was ſoon promoted to that dignity; and this pontiff, purſuing the meaſures of his predeceſſor, immediately granted the king's requeſt.*

Having thus quieted the ſcruples of his conſcience, and fortified himſelf with the pope's protection, he inſtantly reſolved to pull

* A. D. 1261.

pull off the maſk. With this view he aſſembled a parliament at London, and repaired directly to the houſe, where, to the unſpeakable aſtoniſhment of the members, he declared, that, before he had conſented to ſign the proviſions of Oxford, they had obliged themſelves to diſcharge his debts, and encreaſe his revenue; but as they had neglected to perform their part of the engagement, he likewiſe conſidered himſelf as entirely abſolved from the oath he had taken; that he would no longer be directed by the advice of thoſe counſellors, who had been impoſed upon them, and who treated him rather like a ſlave than a ſovereign; but that he was determined to free himſelf from thoſe diſgraceful fetters with which he had been ſhackled, and recover his royal prerogative, of which he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived.

So ſaying, he retired to the Tower, the governour of which he had ſecured in his intereſt, ſeized all the money in the mint, iſſued a proclamation diſcharging all the officers appointed by the council, and filling their places with others of his own nomination; and acted with a ſpirit and reſolution which he had never before diſcovered, and which, till this time, nobody thought him capable of exerting.

Prince Edward, who was then at Paris, was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he immediately foreſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily flow from ſuch a proceeding. He therefore reſolved to return to England, and exert his utmoſt efforts, in order to prevent the impending danger.

The barons expected his arrival with great impatience, hoping that, young as he was, he might be the means of compromiſing the quarrel, and ſaving the nation from the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

Henry was no leſs eager for his return, in full confidence that he would join his party, and thus add ſtrength and vigour to the royal cauſe; but he was equally ſurpriſed and afflicted, when he learned that prince Edward openly blamed him for violating his oath; and his perplexity was farther encreaſed, by the reconciliation of the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, who, actuated by a true ſpirit of patriotiſm, ſacrificed their private animoſity to the public good, and ſwore once more to the ſtatutes of Oxford.

The party of the barons being thus ſtrengthened, they ſent word to the king, that unleſs he would remove from his perſon thoſe evil counſellors who had adviſed him

him to purſue ſuch pernicious meaſures, they ſhould be obliged to compel him to comply with their requeſt by force of arms.

This weak prince, who had raſhly engaged in an undertaking, which he had neither ſenſe to conduct, nor courage to execute, was unable to give them any poſitive anſwer, and as he was afraid of falling into the hands of his enemies, he choſe to remain in the Tower as the place of the greateſt ſafety.

In this forlorn ſituation he had no other choice, than to come to an immediate accommodation with the barons. He might have eaſily perceived (had he allowed himſelf to reflect) that the longer he reſiſted, he would only render his condition the more deſperate; and as the barons were willing to make ſome conceſſions, and to mitigate thoſe articles of the ſtatutes which were moſt diſagreeable to his majeſty, a perfect reconciliation might have ſoon been effected, had not his evil genius led to take a ſtep which entirely blaſted this pleaſing proſpect.

He publiſhed the bull which he had received from the pope, abſolving him from the obligation of his oath. By this means, he hoped he ſhould intimidate his enemies, and increaſe the number of his friends and abettors; but he ſoon found that this meaſure

meaſure produced a very different effect. The whole nation took the alarm, and loudly exclaimed againſt the perfidy and inſincerity of a prince upon whoſe word no dependance could be placed.

The barons perceiving that all hopes of peace were vaniſhed, and that Henry was determined to come to extremities, contrived a ſcheme for ſurprizing him at Wincheſter, whither he had gone upon the faith of a negotiation. But Henry being apprized of their deſign, retired to the Tower, from whence he diſpatched orders into all the counties to diſcard the ſheriffs appointed by the council, and fill their places with others of his own nomination; a meaſure that threw the whole kingdom into anarchy and confuſion, ſome refuſing to obey the magiſtrates appointed by the king, and others to acknowledge thoſe who were nominated by the council, while men of profligate and abandoned morals rejected the authority of both the one and the other, and committed every ſpecies of wickedneſs with wantonneſs and impunity.

The barons, at once alarmed and provoked by theſe violent proceedings, began to make preparations for oppoſing the dangerous deſigns of his majeſty, and prevailed upon the governours of the Cinque Ports,

Ports, to equip a fleet to guard the coaſt, and prevent the introduction of any foreign troops into the iſland.

Whilſt the nation was thus threatened with all the horrors and calamities of a civil war, the king of the Romans interpoſed his good offices, and happily effected an accommodation. He perſuaded his brother to promiſe that he would confirm the proviſions of Oxford, and prevailed upon the barons to depart from thoſe articles of the ſtatutes which were moſt exceptionable.

This qualification, indeed, was not unanimouſly approved by all the members of the council; the earl of Leiceſter refuſed to agree to the terms of the treaty, alledging, in excuſe, that he could not depend upon the word of a prince, who violated the moſt ſacred ties of honour and religion, in order to promote his own intereſt, or gratify his reſentment; and thus having ſaid, he immediately left the aſſembly, and retired into France.*

Several of the barons were extremely diſſatisfied with the articles of agreement; but as they were unwilling to involve the nation in the miſeries of a civil war they ſuffered themſelves to be over-ruled by

* A. D. 1262.

by the majority, and accordingly ſubſcribed the treaty.

By this accommodation the public peace ſeemed to be firmly re-eſtabliſhed; but this was only a falſe appearance; the fire of diſcord and diſſenſion that ſtill lay concealed beneath the aſhes, was ſoon rekindled, and, at laſt, broke out into a new flame.

Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, Richard king of the Romans went over to Germany, whither he was again invited by the electors, who flattered him with the hopes of obtaining the Imperial crown.

For this purpoſe they adviſed him to go to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope; but he did not think proper to follow their advice, either becauſe the journey was too dangerous, whilſt Mainfroy's partiſans infeſted the roads, or rather, perhaps, becauſe his holineſs had not yet decided the diſpute between him and Alphonſo king of Caſtile.

Henry himſelf took the advantage of the preſent tranquillity to viſit Guienne, and was ſeized with a quartan-ague at Bourdeaux, in conſequence of which he was obliged to remain on the Continent much longer than he intended.

Richard

Richard earl of Glouceſter dying in the mean time, his ſon Gilbert repaired to Guienne to receive the inveſtiture of his father's inheritance; but Henry was ſo much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the late earl, that he did not comply with the ſon's requeſt, till after he had been importuned with a warm and tedious ſollicitation, and even gratified with a conſiderable ſum of money.

The friends of the earl of Leiceſter embraced the opportunity of the king's abſence to renew their cabals, and re-unite the party which had been divided by the late accommodation. This they effected with the greater eaſe, as the king, by delaying to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford, had furniſhed them with a pretext for raiſing complaints againſt his government.

The earl was no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of his friends and emiſſaries, than he returned to England, where his preſence revived the courage of thoſe, who, either through fear or weakneſs, had ſigned the articles of the late agreement; and the king, apprized of theſe proceedings, immediately ſet ſail for England, in order to prevent their deſigns from being carried into execution; but he found, upon his arrival, that he had come too late:

late: the barons had alrerdy concerted a plan for ſecuring themſelves from all the effects of his inconſtancy and reſentment.

Immediately after his return, they preſented an addreſs, demanding a confirmation of the ſtatutes of Oxford, according to the treaty, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to do themſelves juſtice by force of arms. They were ſo well acquainted with the king's indolent temper and timorous diſpoſition, that they made no doubt of his complying with their demand; but they were greatly ſurpriſed to find, that inſtead of granting their requeſt, he branded them with the odious appellation of rebels, and menaced them with the ſevereſt penalties.

It muſt certainly appear ſomewhat unaccountable, that Henry, deſtitute as he was of men and money, and hated by the nation in general, ſhould yet behave with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution. But he had a private reſource, to which the barons were entire ſtrangers.

During his abode in Guienne, he had gained over to his ſide his brother the king of the Romans, and his ſon prince Edward. This laſt had engaged about an hundred foreign knights, together with their followers in his ſervice; and with theſe

theſe he now returned to England, in order to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Llewellyn prince of Wales, who had lately made ſome petty incurſions into the Engliſh territories.

The Welch prince was no ſooner informed of Edward's approach, than he retired into the mountainous parts of North-Wales, whither it was impoſſible to purſue him; ſo that Edward could do no more than ſupply the caſtle of Gannock and other ports with plenty of proviſions and ſtrong garriſons, after which he returned with his forces to London. *

Upon his arrival at this place, he was guilty of an action, which, though in ſome meaſure the effect of neceſſity, was certainly unjuſtifiable, and rendered his character extremely odious. As he was unwilling to diſband his troops, and yet had no money to pay them, he went with a body of armed men to the New Temple, and carried off about ten thouſand pounds ſterling, belonging to the citizens, who had lodged it there, as in a place of ſafety.

Such an act of violence and injuſtice could not fail to raiſe an univerſal clamour among the inhabitants; but their complaints and remonſtrances were entirely diſregarded: Edward ordered the money to be conveyed to the caſtle of Windſor,

* A. D. 1263.

which the persons who had suffered were in no condition to besiege.

During these transactions, the pope began to alter his measures with regard to the kingdom of Sicily. As he had little hopes of drawing any more money from England, which he now considered as an exhausted fund, and which he himself had reduced to that wretched condition, he resolved to have recourse to France, hoping he should be able to play the same advantageous game in that kingdom. With this view he entered into a negotiation with Charles, count of Anjou, brother to the French king, a nobleman whom he proposed to raise to the crown of Sicily. To prepare Henry for this change, he wrote him a long letter, in which, after having reproached him with breach of faith, in neglecting to perform his promise, he declared that he should be obliged to offer the crown to some other prince, who would engage in the project with greater resolution.

Mean while, proposals for an accommodation were made by the more moderate part of the nation, who trembled with the apprehension of seeing their country exposed to all the miseries and calamities of a civil war. But their salutary endeavours were rendered ineffectual by the obstinacy

of

of the two parties, who, though both guilty of many faults, were extremely anxious to exculpate themſelves, and throw the blame of the rupture upon their adverſaries.

The earl of Leiceſter fearing that theſe delays could only ſerve to debauch his adherents, reſolved to commence hoſtilities without loſs of time. To this ſtep he was further prompted by the ſuſpicious conduct of the king's party, who had exacted an oath of fealty to prince Edward from the citizens of London, and from all the nobility of the kingdom, without ſo much as mentioning the proviſions of Oxford; and as he was determined to maintain theſe proviſions, he immediately began to concert the proper meaſures for oppoſing the deſigns of his enemies.

With this view, he aſſembled the barons of his party at Oxford, where they bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to defend the Statutes of Oxford, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and appointed the earl for their general. They had already raiſed ſome forces, which were now collected into a body, and increaſed to a prodigious number.

The firſt torrent of their fury and reſentment fell upon the foreigners diſperſed in all parts of the kingdom. Peter, biſhop of Hereford, a native of Bur-

gundy, who had rendered himself odious to the clergy by seconding the pope in all his oppressive measures, was now seized and imprisoned in Erdesley castle; his effects were pillaged, and his farms laid waste.

The Italian ecclesiastics were every where plundered and deprived of their benefices: Geoffry de Langley, Roger de Mortimer, and all the other noblemen who had opposed the authority of the four and twenty, were now punished with the utmost rigour and severity, their lands were ravaged, and their houses levelled with the ground; but the fury of the commons was particularly directed against Simon de Walton, bishop of Norwich, and John Mansel, justiciary, who had published the pope's bull for absolving the people from their oath to observe the Statutes of Oxford.

The earl of Leicester, having now reduced the castles of Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Bridgnorth, advanced about Midſummer towards London, with the royal ſtandard carried before him, and taking in his way all the king's fortreſſes, which he provided with garriſons and governours attached to his intereſt.

The king was, at this time, lodged in the Tower, and the prince reſided at Clerkenwell,

enwell, both of them in a weak and defenceleſs condition, entirely deſtitute of money to maintain an army, and attended by few of their friends, while the reſt, intimidated by the power of the confederacy, were afraid to come to their aſſiſtance.

The citizens of London were perſuaded by the mayor to declare in favour of the barons; and the populace engaged in aſſociations againſt all foreigners, whom they perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. Prince Edward, unable to join his father, retired with his French knights to Windſor, and there endeavoured to aſſemble a body of troops, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the confederates.

The queen being afraid to remain in the Tower, while all the city was in a tumult around her, reſolved to follow her ſon to Windſor. With this view ſhe went on board of a barge, intending to proceed by water; but as ſhe approached London-Bridge, ſhe was inſulted with great rudeneſs and brutality by the populace, who not only loaded her with the moſt opprobrious epithets, but even endeavoured to ſink the boat and deprive her of her life, by throwing ſtones of an enormous weight into the veſſel, as the watermen attempted to paſs through one of the arches; ſo that

ſhe was forced to return to the Tower, from whence ſhe was afterwards conveyed to the palace of the biſhop of London at St. Paul's, as a place of greater ſafety. *

The

* When we conſider the delicacy of her ſex as a woman, and the dignity of her character as a queen, we can hardly read this paſſage without feeling the ſtrongeſt emotions of reſentment and indignation; but ſhould we from thence be induced to condemn the proceedings of the barons, who may be conſidered as the original authors of all theſe diſturbances, we ſhould act in a manner little conſiſtent with the maxims of juſtice and equity.

We are ſorry to ſay that Carte, and moſt of the hiſtorians who have written ſince his time, have fallen into this error. Carte, in particular, commends every meaſure of the king as laudable and praiſe-worthy; and brands every ſtep the barons took as factious, turbulent and ſeditious; whereas, Rapin, on the other hand, eſpouſes the cauſe of the barons, and defends their proceedings with equal zeal and ability.

The truth is, neither the conduct of the king, nor that of the barons ought to be wholly condemned, nor wholly applauded. That the government needed to be reformed muſt certainly be allowed; and that the barons might lawfully deſire his majeſty to conſent to ſuch a reformation will hardly be denied, even by the keeneſt advocates of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; but whether the Statutes of Oxford were the moſt proper means to accompliſh that purpoſe, we will not take upon us to determine.

The barons were, therefore, in the right with regard to the end they had in view, though perhaps they might be in the wrong with reſpect to the means

they

The wealthy citizens were likewiſe expoſed to the moſt imminent danger by the ungo-

they employed. In like manner the king was certainly in the wrong, either in refuſing to comply with the requeſt of the barons, or in endeavouring to elude the oath he had taken for that purpoſe, and yet he might be in the right not only in reſiſting, but even in puniſhing ſome of the outrages which the barons, in the proſecution of their deſign, might poſſibly have committed.

Be that as it will, the barons can never be deemed accountable for every inſtance of violence and brutality, of which the populace may unhappily have been guilty. The guilt of ſuch crimes ſhould be fixed upon the perpetrators alone; or, if it muſt be traced to a higher ſource, it ought to be ultimately aſcribed to thoſe, who, by their cruelty and oppreſſion, inflamed the rage and fury of the people.

The populace, in all countries, have ever been conſidered as a heedleſs and unthinking body, not eaſily provoked; but, when provoked, not very delicate in the manner of expreſſing their reſentment. The mob can never be excuſed for want of humanity (and the incident mentioned in the text, argued a groſs want of humanity) becauſe that virtue is an eſſential ingredient in the nature of man, and ought to be as ſtrong in the breaſt of a peaſant as in that of a prince; but they certainly may be forgiven, if they happen to be a little defective in point of civility and politeneſs, becauſe that is an art which they have never been taught.

But can the ſame apology be offered for thoſe, who, by their arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, provoked them to ſhew their incivility? He that purſues ſuch meaſures as will neceſſarily incenſe a whole nation, without foreſeeing theſe dangerous conſequences, is certainly deſtitute of that ſagacity and penetration

which

ungoverned fury and rage of the rabble, who patrolled the ſtreets by night with bodies of horſe and foot; and, under pretence of ſearching for foreigners, broke open their houſes and plundered their effects. The king of the Romans was no ſooner informed of this commotion, than he haſtened up from the Weſt, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the effuſion of blood; and a negotiation was immediately begun under the auſpices of the biſhops of Worceſter, London, Lincoln, and Coventry, John de Arlington, and William de Wilton.

In the mean time the earl of Leiceſter viſited the Cinque-Ports which he engaged in his intereſt; and then joined the party of the barons, who, by this time, had advanced with their forces to the neighbourhood of London.

After the negociation had laſted about three weeks, the king began to deſpair of receiving any aſſiſtance, and finding that he muſt either ſubmit to the terms propoſed by the confederates, or ſuſtain a ſiege in the Tower, where he was in daily apprehenſion of ſeeing himſelf inveſted, he thought

which conſtitutes a wiſe ſovereign; and he that foreſees theſe conſequences, and yet purſues the meaſures, is ſurely devoid of that regard for the public welfare, which forms the character of a patriot prince.

thought it moſt adviſeable to embrace the former part of the alternative; and a treaty was accordingly concluded on the following conditions; that the Statutes of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved; that all the king's caſtles ſhould be put into the hands of the barons; that all foreigners ſhould be expelled the kingdom, except ſuch as ſhould be allowed to ſtay by the unanimous conſent of the barons; and that none but the king's natural ſubjects, approved by the barons, ſhould be entruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs.

This treaty would, in all probability, have reſtored peace to the kingdom, had Henry been ſincere in his engagements. But as his ſole view was to free himſelf from his preſent confinement, he no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than, inſtead of delivering his caſtles to the barons according to agreement, he began to furniſh them with arms and proviſions, and to take every ſtep that ſeemed to threaten an approaching rupture.

Prince Edward too, who was by no means ſatisfied with the terms of the peace, returned to the caſtle of Briſtol, the cuſtody of which his father had committed to his care, and, reſolving to put it in a poſture of defence, he ordered the inhabitants to ſupply him

him with the neceſſary ſtores at their own charges.

The people were too much incenſed at the arbitrary conduct of the father, to bear with ſuch an inſtance of deſpotiſm in the ſon: a ſedition was immediately raiſed; and Edward was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flying to the caſtle, where he was inſtantly inveſted. Deſtitute as he was of men and ammunition, he was utterly unable to ſtand a ſiege; and, afraid or unwilling to fall into the hands of his enemies, he was ſoon reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

At laſt he bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem, which freed him from his preſent danger, though it threw him into another dilemma, from which he could not be ſo eaſily diſengaged. He ſent word to the biſhop of Worceſter, that he intended to join the party of the barons; but that he wanted firſt to converſe with his father, in order to try if he could not prevail upon him to give them ſatisfaction without coming to extremities.

He therefore intreated the biſhop to uſe his intereſt with the people, to procure his diſmiſſion from the caſtle, that ſo he might have liberty to go and execute his deſign; and, at the ſame time, he deſired the prelate to accompany him in his journey, to aſſiſt him with his advice, and ſuperintend his

his conduct. The biſhop, convinced of Edward's ſincerity, perſuaded the citizens to raiſe the blockade; and the prince immediately ſet out for London, attended by the prelate, who flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of ſeeing all their differences ſpeedily compromiſed, by the interpoſition of ſuch a powerful mediator.

But they had no ſooner arrived at Egham, than Edward clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and rode full ſpeed to the caſtle of Windſor, in which he took refuge, leaving the biſhop equally ſurprized and enraged at his hypocriſy and diſſimulation.

Though this may be conſidered as an humorous frolick in a young prince, and a comical trick put upon an old prelate, it was certainly but a bungling piece of politicks. The biſhop proceeded directly to London, and complained of his behaviour to the barons, who inſtantly reſolved to beſiege him.

As the place was altogether unprovided for a regular ſiege, Edward, who depended greatly upon his addreſs, determined to ride forth and meet the earl of Leiceſter, hoping he ſhould be able to amuſe him by a negociation, and by that means retain the poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Accordingly he had a conference with that nobleman at Kingſton; and as he could not obtain the con-

conditions he demanded, was preparing to return; but he ſuddenly found himſelf arreſted, and obliged to accept of ſuch terms as Leiceſter thought proper to preſcribe. The caſtle was ſurrendered to the barons, and the garriſon, which conſiſted wholly of foreigners, was ordered to depart the kingdom.

Immediately after the concluſion of the peace, the king had left the Tower, and repaired to his palace at Weſtminſter, where he brooded over his misfortunes, and repined at the ſucceſs of the barons, who did not uſe their proſperity with ſufficient moderation. The office of juſticiary was again beſtowed upon Hugh d'Eſpenſer; the ſeals were redelivered to Nicholas de Ely; and Leiceſter continued at the head of the forces, which, as uſually happens in times of civil diſcord, were guilty of many acts of violence and injuſtice. The people complained loudly of theſe outrages; and they were amuſed with hopes of having all their grievances redreſſed in the next parliament, which met on the ninth of September.

During this ſeſſion, the charter for confirming the ſtatutes of Oxford was read in St. Paul's church; guardians of the peace were appointed all over the realm, according to the direction of the barons; orders were iſſued to all magiſtrates, to adminiſter

juſtice

juſtice within their ſeveral diſtricts, with the utmoſt impartiality; and as Leiceſter refuſed to reſtore the caſtles he had ſeized, the conſideration of that matter was poſtponed to the enſuing parliament, which was to meet immediately after the feaſt of St. Edward.

Soon after, Henry, together with the earl of Leiceſter, and ſuch other noblemen as held lands in France, were ſummoned by Lewis to attend him in an aſſembly of the eſtates at Boulogne, to deliberate on the coronation of his ſon, and an expedition to Paleſtine which he propoſed to undertake.

But the barons, who were extremely anxious to have the proviſions of Oxford irreverſibly fixed, which could not be done while the king was abroad, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom, until he had promiſed in writing, and upon the oath of Sir Geoffry Gatelin, that he would return to England within a week after Michaelmas.

This matter being ſettled, he committed the adminiſtration of public affairs to Hugh d'Eſpenſer, the juſticiary; and, embarking at Dover, with the queen, the two princes, and a great number of the nobility, arrived in ſafety at Boulogne.

The care of his own affairs was not the only motive that prompted Lewis to ſum-

mon Henry to the Continent; he hoped he ſhould be able to compromiſe all diſputes between him and his barons; and he actually made ſeveral overtures for that purpoſe; but the terms he mentioned being too favourable to the king, Leiceſter rejected the propoſal, and returned abruptly to England, whither he was ſoon followed by Henry, who left his queen in France, that ſhe might not be expoſed to freſh dangers and inſults during theſe times of civil commotion.

The parliament, in which it was propoſed to ſettle the government of the nation, met at Weſtminſter on the fourteenth of October. As moſt of the four and twenty governors were, by this time, either dead or drawn over to the king's intereſt, Leiceſter reſolved to fill up their places with ſuch as were attached to the party of the barons; but in this he was warmly oppoſed by the adherents of Henry, who were now become ſo numerous and powerful, as to be able to thwart his meaſures; and, while diſputes ran high in parliament, Edward, on pretence of viſiting his wife, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Windſor, to which the king immediately repaired, accompanied by a great many of the nobility, who were determined to ſupport his cauſe at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Henry

Henry ſummoned another parliament at Reading, where it could not be overawed by the militia of London; but Leiceſter and his friends refuſed to obey the ſummons; and the king, having raiſed a body of forces, marched directly to Dover, in hopes of ſurpriſing the caſtle; an attempt in which he would probably have ſucceeded, had it not been for the vigilance and courage of Richard de Grey, the governor, who was ſtrongly attached to the party of the barons.

As this place was conſidered as the key of England, the people began to ſuſpect that Henry deſigned to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom; and this ſuſpicion became ſo prevalent, and raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent in the nation, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of diſclaiming any ſuch intention, by a public writ directed to the citizens of London, and afterwards tranſmitted to all the ſheriffs of the realm.

At the ſame time he forebade the people to pay any illegal taxes that might be impoſed upon them by the revolted barons, or to march out of their counties without his ſpecial mandate, and ſtrictly enjoined the inhabitants of London to expel the earl of Leiceſter, and his followers, out of the city.

Mean while he visited the Cinque-Ports, which he endeavoured to confirm in his interest; and, after having exacted a new oath of allegiance from the barons, directed his march towards London. Leicester being informed of his approach, took post with his army in Southwark, in order to prevent his entrance into the city; and the king was reinforced, on the road, by a strong body of troops, under the command of his son prince Edward; so that he was now superior to the enemy in point of numbers. He therefore determined to attack the earl in his quarters; and his friends in London undertook to cut off that nobleman's retreat, by shutting the bridge-gates, and throwing the keys into the river.

Accordingly the royal army advanced to the charge; and Leicester, finding it impossible to retire, was obliged to maintain his ground against superior numbers, till, at last, the populace, hearing of his dangerous situation, broke down the gates, and rushed forth to his assistance in such crowds, that Henry and his son were glad to retreat, and leave the victory to the enemy.

This action would probably have been attended with further hostilities, had not some noblemen, who were more concerned for the welfare of the nation than the success either of the king or the barons, interposed

terpoſed their good offices, and effected a truce.

During this ſuſpenſion of arms, both parties agreed to refer their differences to the arbitration of the French king; and an inſtrument, expreſſing the reference, was ſigned and ſealed by the king, the barons, and the principal perſons engaged in the quarrel.

In conſequence of this agreement, Henry, accompanied by prince Edward and ſeveral members of his council, ſet out on his journey for France, and thither he was ſoon followed by all the leaders of the other party, except the earl of Leiceſter, who could not go abroad on this occaſion, as he had lately fractured his thigh-bone by a fall from his horſe.

Lewis was rather pleaſed with the honour, than diſguſted with the trouble of acting as arbitrator: he heard the cauſe in an aſſembly of the eſtates at Amiens, and, after mature deliberation, gave his award to the following effect; that the proviſions of Oxford ſhould be annulled; that the king ſhould enjoy all the rights and prerogatives which were veſted in the crown before the ſaid proviſions; that he ſhould recover all the caſtles which he had ceded to the barons, as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſes; and that foreigners

ſhould be deemed as capable as the natives of England, of enjoying poſts and dignities; but he added a clauſe, importing, that this deciſion ſhould not infringe or invalidate the privileges which had been granted by former kings, or enjoyed by the nation before the parliament of Oxford.*

The barons conſidered this exception as utterly inconſiſtent with the other parts of the ſentence, alledging, that the ſtatutes of Oxford were enacted for no other purpoſe than to ſecure their privileges: they therefore made this a pretext for rejecting the award, and renewing hoſtilities.

The king was no ſooner returned from France, than Leiceſter ſent his two eldeſt ſons, Henry and Simon de Montfort, with a ſtrong body of forces, to waſte the lands of Roger de Mortimer; and, being afterwards joined by Llewellyn, they reduced the caſtle of Radnor; while Robert de Ferrers, earl of Darby, with Richard and Peter de Montfort, advanced at the head of another party to Wincheſter; and, having taken the city after ſeveral aſſaults, abandoned it to plunder.

Upon the firſt news of theſe hoſtilities, prince Edward marched to the aſſiſtance of Mortimer; and having ſubdued the caſtles of

* A. D. 1264.

of Hay, Huntingdon, and Brecknock, with ſeveral other places, committed them to the care of that nobleman. Henry and Simon de Montfort retired at the prince's approach, and fled towards Glouceſter, whither they were immediately purſued by Edward; but, before his arrival, they had taken the town and demoliſhed the bridge over the Severn. Notwithſtanding this obſtruction, he found means to enter the caſtle with his forces; and the two brothers ſued for a truce, which they obtained by the mediation of the biſhop of Worceſter.

The truce continued till the middle of March, when a treaty of peace was brought upon the carpet at Brackley, in preſence of John de Valence, the French ambaſſador; but the two parties were too much inflamed to agree to any reaſonable terms.

The ſtrength of the barons lay in the middle of England, where the earls of Leiceſter and Derby had large eſtates, and a vaſt number of dependents, and in the counties adjoining to London, which were under the influence of the earl of Glouceſter. Henry was maſter of all the northern parts of the kingdom, was favoured by the moſt powerful lords in the Welch marches, and had conſiderable intereſt in the Weſt, which was generally attached to the king of the Romans.

But

But the place of moſt conſequence, and that which always turned the ſcale to whatever ſide it leaned, was the city of London: its own internal ſtrength was great, and its example was commonly followed by the Cinque-Ports; and all theſe, when joined together, compoſed the beſt part of the maritime force of the kingdom, ſecured the dominion of the ſea to their own party, enabled their friends to receive ſuccours from abroad, and precluded their enemies from that advantage.

The earl of Leiceſter was too prudent to neglect ſuch an important object; he left the war in the marches of Wales to be carried on by his ſons, and immediately repaired to London, in order to confirm the citizens more thoroughly in his intereſt.

This point he eaſily gained by the influence of Thomas Fitz-Thomas, who ſtill acted as mayor, having been elected by the people from one year to another, contrary to former precedents. It was owing to the perſuaſion of this magiſtrate, that the inhabitants engaged in an aſſociation to defend their liberties againſt the tyrannical meaſures of the king, and exert their utmoſt endeavours in ſupporting the cauſe of the confederated barons. Every perſon in the city, above twelve years of age, took an oath to obſerve this aſſociation, which was

ſigned

ſigned by the mayor and commons of London on one part, and by the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Derby, Hugh d'Eſpenſer the chief juſticiary, and fourteen barons, on the other; and the barons of the Cinque-Ports ſoon entered into the like engagement.

The populace now formed themſelves into different bands; appointed Thomas de Pivelſden their conſtable; elected Stephen Buckerel their mareſchal; and obliged themſelves, on hearing the ſound of St. Paul's bell, to come forth armed by day or by night, to follow the banners of their generals. Under the conduct of theſe leaders, they made incurſions into the adjacent counties, plundering the houſes and ravaging the lands belonging to the king of the Romans, and other noblemen attached to the royal cauſe.

In all civil commotions, the Jews never failed to be roughly handled. In the week before Palm-Sunday, the Londoners broke open the houſes of the Hebrews, pillaged their effects, ſtripped them ſtark naked, confined their perſons for ſeveral hours, and then murdered above five hundred of that unhappy people.

Had this cruel maſſacre been perpetrated by the ungoverned fury of the populace, it would, even in that caſe, have been a diſ-

grace

grace to humanity; but, to the eternal reproach and infamy of the nation, it was committed by the advice, and under the immediate direction, of a powerful baron named John Fitz-John, who, with his own hand, butchered Koh Ben Abraham, the richeſt Jew in England, and ſeized all his treaſure, which he divided between himſelf and the earl of Leiceſter.

The king of the Romans ſeems to have acted with great prudence and moderation during the whole courſe of the war, and to have laboured with equal ſincerity and diligence in compoſing the public diſturbances. With this view he had prevailed upon Henry to aſſemble a parliament at Oxford, where terms of peace were again propoſed; but this negociation proved as fruitleſs and abortive as the former; and the king, ſeeing no hopes of accommodation, ſummoned all his military tenants to attend him at that city; and he was joined with a ſtrong body of forces, under the command of John Comin, John Baliol lord of Galloway, Robert de Brus lord of Annandale, John de Vaux, Henry de Percy, and other noblemen from the marches of Scotland.

With theſe troops he advanced to Northampton, where he was informed a great number of barons had aſſembled, in order

to

to reinforce the earl of Leiceſter; and, coming before the place on the fourth of April, he ordered the inhabitants to open the gates, but was refuſed admittance. Next day, having broken down a weak part of the walls, his forces took the town by ſtorm; and Simon de Montfort, ſallying out to divert the aſſailants, was thrown from his horſe, and made priſoner by prince Edward.

The barons, diſconcerted by this accident, made no further reſiſtance, but immediately ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, who afterwards reduced the caſtles of Leiceſter, Nottingham, and Tutbury; overran the counties of Derby and Stafford; and waſted the lands belonging to his enemies.

Leiceſter had begun his march from London, in order to join the barons aſſembled at Northampton; but, upon the firſt news of their defeat, he returned to the city, which he fortified in the beſt manner he was able. Having thus provided for the ſafety of the capital, he reſolved to inveſt the caſtle of Rocheſter, which was commanded for the king by the earl of Warenne, aſſiſted by the earl of Arundel, Henry d'Almaine, Roger de Leyburn, Reginald Fitz-Piers, and ſeveral other noblemen.

When

When he advanced to the river Medway, he found the bridge broken down, and the other side defended by a strong body of the inhabitants, who were planted behind a palisado and breastwork. He found means, however, to elude their vigilance; he filled a vessel with pitch, coal, sulphur, hogs-grease, and other combustible matter, and, setting it on fire, passed the river under favour of the smoke. Having thus made himself master of the town, he immediately laid siege to the castle, which, in all probability, he would soon have taken, had not Henry began to advance towards London.

The earl was too wise to neglect the care of the metropolis, for such an inconsiderable place as Rochester: he therefore returned directly to the city, leaving only a small body of troops to continue the siege. These were easily defeated by the king, who afterwards reduced the castle of Tunbridge, in which he took the countess of Gloucester, whom he presently set at liberty. Having provided the place with a strong garrison, he proceeded to Winchelsea, and compelled some of the barons of the Cinque-Ports to renew their oath of allegiance, while the rest put to sea and intercepted all supplies from abroad, except such as were designed for the service of the confederates.

From

From Winchelſea he directed his march towards London, hoping that his friends in the city would have intereſt enough to make the inhabitants declare in his favour. But he ſoon found that his friends in this place, were neither ſo numerous nor ſo powerful as he imagined; for he no ſooner began to approach the ſuburbs, than the citizens went forth and offered him battle; and Henry, afraid to hazard an engagement with them at their own gates, retired into Suſſex, and fixed his quarters in the convent of Lewes, while his ſon prince Edward lodged in the caſtle.

The earl of Leiceſter having reinforced his army with a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, reſolved to decide the quarrel by an engagement, and accordingly advanced towards the place where the king's forces were encamped. Whether he was really deſirous of compromiſing the diſpute in an amicable manner, or only wanted to throw the blame of whatever miſchief might happen upon Henry, certain it is he halted about ſix miles from Lewes, and ſent a reſpectful meſſage to the king, importing that he and the aſſociated barons had taken up arms not with a view to renounce their allegiance, but merely to redreſs the grievances of the nation; he therefore entreated his majeſty to concur with them in accompliſhing that ſalutary work, aſſuring him

that he ſhould find them as loyal and ſubmiſſive, as thoſe inſidious flatterers, who, under the falſe pretext of duty and obedience, endeavoured to effect his ruin, by alienating his affections from his faithful ſubjects.

Whatever was Leiceſter's deſign in making this declaration, prince Edward and the king of the Romans conſidered it as an intolerable inſult, and accordingly anſwered it with reproach and defiance; and the barons, ſeeing all hopes of peace vaniſhed, renounced their allegiance to his majeſty, whom, at the ſame time, they upbraided as a tyrant and an enemy to the public.

Both parties now prepared for a battle, with the moſt implacable rancour; and the earl of Leiceſter advanced to Lewes, where the king's forces were ready to receive him. The royal army was divided into three bodies; prince Edward commanded in the right wing, the king of the Romans in the left, and Henry himſelf remained in the centre. The troops of the barons were formed into four diviſions; the firſt was led by Henry de Montfort, the general's ſon; the earl of Glouceſter conducted the ſecond; Simon earl of Leiceſter commanded the third; and the fourth, compoſed wholly of Londoners, and extending to the left, was headed by Nicholas de Seagrave.

The

The two armies being thus marſhalled, prince Edward began the fight, and attacked the London-militia with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that, unable to ſuſtain the charge, they preſently gave way, and fled with great precipitation. He was ſo eager to revenge the inſult they had offered to his mother, that he purſued them above four miles, without giving them quarter.

But, while he thus gratified his revenge, he loſt the battle. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gained the ſame advantage over Henry and the king of the Romans. The left wing was almoſt entirely cut in pieces, the king of the Romans, with John Comin, Robert de Brus, and other noblemen, being taken priſoners: but the centre made ſuch a brave reſiſtance, that it did not yield till the evening, when the king being ſlightly wounded, and his horſe killed under him, was obliged to retire to the priory of Lewes, where he ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Leiceſter.

Mean while prince Edward, who had now returned from the purſuit of the Londoners, was greatly ſurprized at the defeat of the royal army; and his followers were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that the earl of Warenne, William de Valence, Guy de Luſignan, and Hugh Bigod, fled with ſeven

hundred men to Pevenſey, where they took ſhipping for the Continent.

This deſertion prevented the prince from attacking the conquerors, while they were yet diſperſed in ſecuring the priſoners, and plundering the baggage; and enabled Leiceſter to collect his ſcattered forces into ſome order.

But as he ſaw that the royaliſts had no inclination to renew the battle, he amuſed the prince with propoſals of an accommodation, until he had detached ſome parties to cut off his retreat; and Edward, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, was obliged to ſubmit to whatever was propoſed. The negociation was ſoon finiſhed, and a treaty concluded on the following conditions; that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, though ſubject to ſuch alterations and amendments as ſhould be judged neceſſary by four biſhops, or barons, appointed in parliament; that if theſe four commiſſioners could not agree, they ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the count of Anjou, brother to the king of France, aſſiſted by four French noblemen; and that prince Edward himſelf, with his couſin Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould remain as hoſtages in the cuſtody of the barons, until theſe matters ſhould be

be fully ſettled by the authority of parliament.

This treaty, which was called the Miſe or Agreement of Lewes, being ſigned and confirmed, the king ſent orders to the governours of all the caſtles in which the barons taken at Northampton were confined, to releaſe the priſoners; and and the garriſon of Tunbridge was diſmiſſed. The northern barons who had been taken in the battle of Lewes, were permitted to return to their own country; and indeed it was an article in the convention, that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty; but, notwithſtanding this ſtipulation, Leiceſter detained the king of the Romans with his ſon Edmund, Philip Baſſet, and ſeveral other noblemen, and ſeized all the barons who adhered to the king, as faſt as he could get them into his hands.

In order to prevent any oppoſition to his meaſures, he iſſued writs in the king's name, forbidding all perſons, on pain of forfeiting their lands, and being deprived of life and limb, to wear armour without a ſpecial licence from his majeſty; and this he took care to grant to none but his own adherents: he likewiſe obliged the king to commit the guardianſhip of all the counties to ſuch

perſons as he thought proper to appoint, and then ſubjected him to cloſer confinement; prince Edward was at firſt ſent priſoner to Wallingford, but was afterwards removed, with his couſin Henry, to Dover-caſtle.

As the only intention of the barons in agreeing to the treaty at Lewes, was to ſecure the perſon of Edward, they were not very forward in performing their part of the convention; on the contrary, they drew up a new plan of government, and reſolved to have it confirmed by a parliament, which they intended to aſſemble in the king's name, on the twenty-ſecond of June.

The proſecution of this ſcheme, however, was attended with great difficulties. They were unwilling to ſummon any of the royal party; and yet they were ſenſible that a parliament conſiſting only of their own dependents, would be thought deficient in point of lawful authority. In order, therefore, to ſupply this defect, they had recourſe to the following expedient. They obliged the king to ſign commiſſions, appointing in each county, certain officers or magiſtrates, named conſervators, for preſerving the privileges of the people, and theſe, as they depended entirely on the barons, were inveſted with very extenſive powers. This point being gained,

gained, the king was perſuaded to ſign new writs to theſe conſervators, ordering them to elect four knights in every county to ſit and repreſent it in the enſuing parliament; and this is ſuppoſed by moſt writers to be the origin of that right which the commons have to ſit in the great council of the nation, at leaſt ſince the time of the Norman conqueſt.

The parliament, thus compoſed of members entirely at the devotion of the barons, did not fail to approve the new form government, which conſiſted of the following articles: That the parliament ſhould appoint three commiſſioners of known wiſdom and diſcretion, empowered to chuſe a council of nine noblemen, to whom the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be committed; and that the king, with the conſent of the commiſſioners, might occaſionally change theſe nine counſellors; that in caſe the commiſſioners could not unanimouſly agree, with regard to the choice and change of the counſellors, the diſpute ſhould be decided by the majority; that the reſolutions of the nine ſhould be executed, provided they were approved by ſix of the number; but if ſuch a majority could not be obtained, the matter in queſtion ſhould be referred to the determination of the three great commiſſioners: that

that the king ſhould have power, with the concurrence of the barons, to diſmiſs or change theſe commiſſioners; that the nomination of all public officers ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the nine counſellors; and that theſe regulations ſhould be in force until altered or annulled by parliament. The three commiſſioners were the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter, who continued to govern the kingdom upon this new plan, after having obliged the king and prince Edward to give their conſent, by threatening the former with the loſs of his crown, and the latter with perpetual impriſonment.

The queen, who ſtill remained in France, was no ſooner informed of the unfortunate battle of Lewes, than ſhe borrowed all the money ſhe poſſibly could, in order to raiſe an army, and fit out a fleet for delivering her ſon and huſband from captivity. Damme in Flanders was appointed as the place of rendezvous; and thither an infinite number of ſoldiers of fortune repaired from Germany, Burgundy, and other countries; while a ſufficient quantity of ſhipping was got ready to tranſport them to England with the firſt opportunity.

At

At the ſame time the king of France was preparing a mighty armament, which was ſuppoſed to be intended againſt the Engliſh barons, who had offered him ſuch an intolerable affront in rejecting his determination.

In order to prevent the impending danger, Leiceſter obliged Henry to write to Lewis, deſiring him to lay aſide his military preparations, and rather to uſe his good offices in compromiſing the differences between him and the barons. As Lewis knew that Henry was in dureſs, he paid little regard to this remonſtrance; ſo that the king was obliged to ſend another letter to that monarch, entreating him not to bring any foreign troops into England, as ſuch a ſtep might be prejudicial to his ſon Edward and his nephew Henry, who were hoſtages in the hands of the barons, and perhaps involve the nation in freſh troubles.

Lewis had deſired Henry to ſend over commiſſioners, in order to ſettle the reference, to which both parties had agreed at the pacification of Lewes, and the king gave him to underſtand, that he could not, at preſent, comply with his requeſt, as his chief counſellors were gone to take ſecurity from ſome lords of the Marches; but that if he would grant a ſafe-conduct, they

ſhould

ſhould be at Boulogne about the middle of Auguſt.

The lords of the Welch marches, either ſuſpicious of Leiceſter's ſincerity, or in hopes of profiting by the preſent troubles, had declared openly againſt the proceedings of the laſt parliament; and the earl marched to that country, in order to reduce them to obedienee by force of arms, or adjuſt matters in ſuch a manner as might prevent any inteſtine commotions, while the kingdom was threatened with a foreign invaſion.

Accordingly, after having reduced the caſtles of Hereford, Hay, and Ludlow, and ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, he advanced to Montgomery, where he obliged them to give hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour; and then returned to London, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the enemy. With this view he iſſued writs in the king's name, ſummoning all the military forces of the crown to repair to London, completely armed, on the third day of Auguſt; and he ordered every hamlet to furniſh eight, ſix, or, at leaſt, four foot-ſoldiers, according to its ſize, while the cities and boroughs were required to provide a certain number of cavalry as well as infantry, at their own expence.

The

The like orders were ſent to all the ports, cities, and towns in Suffolk and Norfolk, to aſſemble an army, and fit out a fleet, under the command of Hugh d' Eſpenſer, the chief juſticiary, who was appointed to defend that part of the coaſt, while Leiceſter himſelf took charge of the ſhips equipped by the Cinque-Ports, to protect the ſouthern parts from invaſion.

But theſe precautions, however prudent, were rendered, by a concurrence of favourable circumſtances, entirely unneceſſary. The fleet equipped by queen Eleanor was detained ſo long by contrary winds, that the forces were at laſt diſbanded and retired to their own homes for want of money; and if ever Lewis had aſſembled any troops for an invaſion of England, it is certain they were never embarked.

The barons, however, were no ſooner freed from theſe apprehenſions, than they were threatened with freſh dangers. Cardinal Guido arrived at Boulogne with orders from the pope to denounce the cenſures of the church againſt the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Norfolk, and all their adherents, eſpecially the citizens of London, and the inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports, unleſs they would immediately annul the proviſions of Oxford, re-inveſt the king with

with the full enjoyment of all his prerogatives, and releaſe prince Edward and his couſin from confinement.

To prevent the publication of theſe cenſures, the barons forbade the legate to enter England on pain of death; and he in revenge publiſhed an admonition, commanding them to give him admittance before the firſt of September, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to excommunicate them by name, and lay their lands under an interdict.

Alarmed at this menace, they perſuaded Henry to ſend the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Wincheſter, Hugh d'Eſpenſer, and Peter de Montfort to treat about a reformation of government, in preſence of the king of France and the legate. The ambaſſadors were ordered to propoſe a new reference to two of their own number, and two French noblemen, to be choſen by Lewis; and Peter de Montfort was empowered by Henry to ratify in his name, whatever the four arbitrators ſhould determine.

This negociation, however, did not ſucceed; and the legate having ſeverely reprimanded the biſhops for adhering to the barons, commanded them to publiſh the ſentences of excommunication and interdict immediately upon their arrival in England.

They

They promiſed to execute his mandate, but were happily prevented from performing their promiſe, by the diligence and addreſs of the inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports, who receiving intelligence of the nature of their orders, met them at ſea, and, under the diſguiſe of pyrates, boarded their veſſel, and tore all their papers.

The legate convinced by this proceeding, of the great power of the barons, and the low ſtate of the king's authority, repaired to Rheims, where he ordered the cenſures to be publiſhed; and then returning to Rome, was, upon the death of Urban, advanced to the papal throne, under the name of Clement IV.

Leiceſter had already ſubdued the whole kingdom, except the marches of Wales, and the northern counties; and the former of theſe he now reſolved to reduce. Accordingly, having obliged Henry to confirm Thomas Fitz-Thomas in the mayoralty of London, and by that means provided for the ſecurity of the capital, he ſet out on the expedition, and carried the king along with him, as a ſanction to the enterprize.

The lords * of the marches were no ſooner informed of his approach, than they ſeized or broke down all the bridges on the Severne, ſo that he could not paſs the river, until he had prevailed upon his ally Llewellyn ap Griffith, to invade the lands of theſe noblemen, and thus compel them to draw off their troops.

Finding themſelves thus beſet by two ſuperior armies, they were obliged to ſubmit, and agree to the terms which the earl propoſed; theſe were, that they ſhould go into voluntary exile for one year, and in the mean time, ſurrender their caſtles, and the cuſtody of their eſtates into his hands. Leiceſter likewiſe received from prince Edward the caſtle and County-Palatine of Cheſter, which he committed to the care of his ſon Simon; and a few days after the earl and Llewellyn had a conference at Hawarden, where a peace was concluded between Wales and Cheſhire. †

As the barons had no other view in taking up arms, than to reduce the exorbitant power of the king, they could not fail to be diſguſted at the authority of Leiceſter, which was now become no leſs abſolute.

The

* The names of theſe lords were, Roger de Mortimer, James Audely, Roger de Leyburn, Hamon L'Eſtrange, Roger de Clifford, and Hugh de Trubleville. *M. Paris.*

† A. D. 1265.

The earl of Glouceſter, in particular, beheld his proceedings with a jealous eye. He conſidered him as a man of unbounded ambition, who was making large ſtrides towards the throne, under the ſpecious pretence of public ſpirit.

And indeed it muſt be owned, that Leiceſter, though probably actuated by a real regard for the welfare of the nation, gave but too much occaſion for theſe ſuſpicions. He had lately impriſoned the earl of Derby in the Tower, for ſome reflections which that nobleman had thrown upon his conduct; and he treated Glouceſter in ſuch a cold and reſerved manner, as alarmed the fears of the latter, and made him apprehend the ſame fate for himſelf.

Influenced by theſe motives, and piqued at the haughty behaviour of Leiceſter, he favoured the malecontents in the Welch marches, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours in forming a party to thwart the meaſures of the man whom he now conſidered as his enemy.

His deſigns did not eſcape the penetrating eye of Leiceſter, who, in order to defeat his ſchemes, publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all thoſe who had taken up arms againſt the preſent government, to retire into Ireland; but inſtead

ſtead of obeying this mandate, they withdrew to the lands of the earl of Glouceſter, who undertook to protect them from all danger.

Mean while, the enemies of Leiceſter were perpetualy inſinuating, that the rigour and ſeverity with which he treated the king and his brother, with their ſons, were but too evident proofs of the pernicious deſigns he had formed againſt their perſons, and the ambitious views he entertained upon the crown; and theſe ſuggeſtions, however ill-founded, began to have ſuch effect upon the minds of the people, that he found it neceſſary to vindicate his character, from this injurious aſperſion.

For this purpoſe he ſummoned a parliament, in order to concert meaſures for ſetting prince Edward at liberty, hoping, that by his readineſs to releaſe the heir of the crown, he ſhould ſufficiently clear himſelf from the treaſonable deſigns with which he was charged.

In this parliament every county was repreſented by two knights, and every city and borough by as many burgeſſes;* and the

* As the writs iſſued on this occaſion to the ſheriffs of the counties, commanding them to return the knights of the ſhires and the burgeſſes, are the firſt of the

the ſeſſion was no ſooner opened, than Leiceſter accuſed Glouceſter of having afforded protection to the lords of the Welſh marches, and required hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour; but the earl, inſtead of granting his requeſt, left the houſe abruptly, and retired to the Weſt with a ſtrong body of followers.

the kind that are now extant on the rolls, the curious reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the form in which they were drawn up, which was as follows:"

" Mandatum eſt ſingulis vicecomitibus per Angliam " quod venire faciant duos milites de legalioribus et " diſcretioribus militibus ſingulorum comitatuum ad " regem London, in Octabis Sancti Hillarii.

" Rex baronibus et bailivis portus ſui de Sandwico, " ſalutem. Cum prelati et nobiles regni noſtri tam " pro negotio liberationis Edwardi primogeniti noſtri " quam pro aliis communitatem regni noſtri tangenti- " bus ad inſtans parliamentum noſtrum quod eſt Lon- " don, in Octab. Sancti Hillarii, convocari fecimus, " ubi veſtrâ ſicut et aliorum fidelium noſtrorum præ- " ſentiâ plurimum indigemus. Vobis mandamus in " fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter in- " jungentes, omnibus aliis prætermiſſis, mittatis ad nos " ibidem quatuor de legalioribus & diſcretioribus por- " tus veſtri. Ita quod ſint ibid. in Octab. prædictis, " nobiſcum & cum præfatis magnatibus regni noſtri " tractatum & ſuper præmiſſis conſilium impenſuri. " Et hoc, ſicut honorem noſtrum & veſtrum, & " communem utilitatem regni noſtri diligitis, nulla- " tenus omittatis. Teſte rege apud Weſt. 22 die Ja- " nuar." *Brady*, vol. i. p. 140.

The members then proceeded to the buſineſs for which they had been aſſembled, and the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Chicheſter, drew up an inſtrument containing the conditions of prince Edward's releaſe, and the king was obliged to take an oath that he would faithfully adhere to this convention. Edward parted with his palace at Weſtminſter to Peter de Montfort; ceded his caſtle of Briſtol to the earl of Lincoln; and promiſed, in writing, to put all his caſtles in the marches of Wales, for three years, into the hands of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the king's council, and not to go out of the kingdom for the ſame ſpace of time, without the council's permiſſion; to perſuade or compel the lords of the marches to ſubmit to the preſent adminiſtration; to bring no foreigners into the kingdom, and even to oppoſe their introduction to the utmoſt of his power; to obſerve the convention, on pain of forfeiting all his eſtates, either in poſſeſſion or reverſion; to deliver his caſtles of Corfe, Dover, Nottingham, Scarborough, and Bamburg, to the cuſtody of the barons for five years; and to allow his couſin Henry to be confined till the end of the year, as an hoſtage for his fidelity, in caſe the kingdom ſhould be invaded.

This

This agreement being ſigned and confirmed, the prince was brought into Weſtminſter-hall, where the inſtrument was read in public, and nine biſhops joined in excommunicating all thoſe who ſhould dare to infringe the charters of liberties, or violate this convention. Then prince Edward was declared free, and at full liberty; but as the ſtate of the kingdom was ſtill unſettled, and Leiceſter had ſome ſuſpicions of his ſincerity, he was ſurrounded with a ſtrong guard, which had particular inſtructions to obſerve all his motions. At the ſame time, writs were iſſued for obliging all the people of England to renew their oaths of allegiance; and the mayor and aldermen of London ſwore fealty at St. Paul's, where Thomas Fitz-Thomas told the king in public, that he might depend upon their fidelity as long as he ſhould continue to afford them his protection.

The earl of Glouceſter was ſo highly incenſed at the treatment he had received in the laſt parliament, that he now declared openly againſt Leiceſter, and began to concert meaſures for effecting the ruin of his adverſary. Simon foreſaw the impending danger, and, in order, if poſſible, to avert the ſtorm, is ſaid to have formed a deſign of taking away the life of his antagoniſt.

With

With this view he deſired his ſon Henry to proclaim a tournament at Northampton, and invite all knights who were ambitious of ſhewing their dexterity and proweſs; hoping that Glouceſter, who was young and fond of military glory, would appear among the reſt, in which caſe he could eaſily have foung means to deprive him of his life.

But Gilbert, who either knew, or, at leaſt, ſuſpected the treacherous deſigns of Leiceſter, avoided the ſnare; and Montfort finding that his ſcheme had miſcarried, perſuaded the young knights and gentlemen, who had met at the tournament, to march directly to the marches of Wales, in hopes of ſurprizing Glouceſter, or obliging him to compromiſe their difference in an amicable manner. But Gilbert was upon his guard; he had already fortified his caſtles; provided himſelf with a good number of troops, and engaged in a defenſive league with Roger de Mortimer, and the other lords of the marches.

Leiceſter coming to Hereford with the king and prince in his retinue, and finding it impoſſible to take Glouceſter by ſurpriſe, propoſed a treaty of accommodation; and as this was ſtrongly recommended to both parties by Henry himſelf, and managed by the biſhop of Worceſter, Hugh d'Eſpenſer,

ſer, John Fitz-John, and W. de Montchenſey, the laſt two of whom were ſuppoſed to be in Glouceſter's intereſt, it was generally expected it would ſucceed.

But as Gilbert had already reſolved upon an open rupture, he was not to be diverted from his purpoſe by any propoſals; however, he thought it moſt adviſeable to amuſe the mediators, until the meaſures he had concerted with Mortimer were ripe for execution.

Nothing was now wanting to complete his plan, but to effect the eſcape of prince Edward, and this he accompliſhed in the following manner. He acquainted the prince with the ſcheme he had formed for his delivery, by means of his own brother Thomas de Clare, who attended Edward as a companion; and at the ſame time Mortimer made him a preſent of a horſe of incomparable fleetneſs.

The prince, thus tutored and provided, rode forth one afternoon to divert himſelf in Widmarſh near Hereford, accompanied by his uſual guards and attendants, and made running matches between them until he had tired their horſes.

Having taken this neceſſary precaution, and obſerving the lord Croft on the aſcent of Tulington-hill, who waved his bonnet as a ſignal, he mounted the horſe which had

had been ſent him by Mortimer, and bade adieu to his keepers, who purſued him for ſome time, until they ſaw him received by a party of men detached for the purpoſe, and who now conducted him to the caſtle of Wigmore.

The lords of the marches were no ſooner informed of prince Edward's eſcape, than they flew to their arms, and having ſeized their own caſtles, which they had formerly been obliged to ſurrender, ſubdued all the country from Hereford to Cheſter; and the earl of Glouceſter took the field with the troops he had aſſembled, and broke down the bridges on the Severne, to prevent Leiceſter from making an irruption into Wales.

Great crowds of people flocked from every part of the kingdom, to ſerve under the banners of prince Edward, who was joined by John Giffard, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed valour and proweſs, at the head of an incredible number of horſe and foot; and he was ſoon after reinforced by William de Valence, John earl of Warrenne, and Hugh Bigod, who had brought a body of one hundred and twenty ſtout warriors from the Continent.

Leiceſter was greatly ſurpriſed at the news of Edward's eſcape; at firſt, indeed, he

he imagined he had fled into Pembrokeſhire, in order to embark for France; but he was ſoon convinced of his miſtake, and found himſelf on the brink of ruin, before he had the leaſt apprehenſion of the dangerous ſituation in which he was placed; for the prince having aſſembled a numerous army, advanced to Worceſter, and making himſelf maſter of that city, cut off his retreat into England.

In order to extricate himſelf out of this difficulty, Leiceſter ſummoned all the military tenants of the crown to meet the king at Glouceſter with the utmoſt expedition; but little regard was paid to this ſummons, and, before any body of troops appeared in his favour, the city and caſtle of Glouceſter were reduced by prince Edward. He then applied to his ally Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who invaded Glouceſter's lands in Glamorgan, and detached a body of forces to join the earl of Leiceſter.

Thus reinforced he advanced to Monmouth, whither he was followed by John Giffard, who challenged him to battle; but the earl did not chuſe to accept the challenge, and continued his march to Newport, from which place he hoped to find a paſſage to Briſtol, having ſent previous orders to the merchants of that city, to prepare

pare a number of ſhips for the tranſportation of his army.

But the earl of Glouceſter blocked up the mouth of the Avon, with a fleet of ſtout gallies, manned with a party of brave ſoldiers, who took or ſunk eleven of the enemies veſſels, and obliged the reſt to retire into the harbour.

And now Leiceſter found himſelf in the moſt terrible diſtreſs; deprived of all hopes of returning to England; unable to ſubſiſt in an enemy's country; and attacked in Newport itſelf by prince Edward, who had already forced the eaſtern part of the town, and waited only for the morning to renew the aſſault.

Montfort's ruin muſt have been inevitable, had he tarried till the next day; and as he had no other means of ſaving himſelf from the impending danger, he decamped privately in the night, which being dark and tempeſtuous, favoured his eſcape into North-wales.

But here he met with freſh misfortunes; the food of the Welch, which conſiſted chiefly of fleſh and milk, with little or no bread, did not agree with the conſtitutions of the Engliſh ſoldiers, ſo that his army began to diminiſh apace, and he was obliged to return to Hereford, where he reſolved to fix his quarters, until he ſhould

ſhould find an opportunity of croſſing the Severne.

Mean while, he ſent orders to his ſon Simon, who was employed in the ſiege of Pevenſey-caſtle, to abandon that enterprize, and come to his aſſiſtance with all his forces; and Simon accordingly returned to London, where he raiſed a ſtrong body of troops, among which were ſixteen bannerets with their followers, and immediately began his march for the banks of the Severne. In his way he reduced the city of Wincheſter, and was received into Oxford and Northampton without oppoſition, and from thence advanced to Kenilworth, where he pitched his camp.

Edward received intelligence of all his motions, from a man named Ralf de Arderne, and a woman called Margot, who ſerved him as ſpies in Simon's army, and who now ſent him an account of the careleſs and negligent manner in which his troops lay encamped.

The prince was no ſooner acquainted with this circumſtance, than he advanced from Worceſter, and arriving at Kenilworth in the night, found Montfort's forces aſleep, and took them all priſoners without the leaſt reſiſtance: his troops were enriched with a prodigious booty of horſes, arms, equipage and other ſpoils; and he

reckoned in the number of his captives the earl of Oxford, W. de Montchenſey, Baldwin Wake, Hugh Neville, Adam de Neumarche, and about ten other bannerets.

When he returned to Worceſter from this expedition, he was informed that Leiceſter, ſeizing the opportunity of his abſence, had croſſed the Severne, and encamped at Kemſey, from whence he proceeded in the night to Eveſham, propoſing next day to join his ſon at Kenilworth. Edward being apprized of his deſign, began his march about ſun-ſet, giving out that he intended to proceed to Bridgnorth, and actually taking that route, in order to deceive the ſpies of the enemy; but after he had advanced about two or three miles, he faced about for Eveſham, where he arrived in the morning before ſun-riſe.

As the enemy had no intimation of his approach, he had time to inveſt the town, and divide his army into three different bodies, the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by the earl of Glouceſter, and the third by Roger de Mortimer.

When Leiceſter firſt deſcried prince Edward's troops, he miſtook them for the forces of his ſon, whoſe diſaſter he had not yet learned; but he was ſoon undeceived

ceived by his brother, Nicholas, who having mounted a ſteeple, diſcovered the banners of Glouceſter and Mortimer advancing to the charge.

The earl himſelf aſcending a ſmall eminence to take a view of the enemy, was ſo ſtruck with their number and diſpoſition, that he could not help breaking forth into his uſual oath: "By the arm "of St. James," ſaid he, "they advance "like regular troops. It was not from "themſelves, but from me they learned "that diſcipline. God have mercy upon "our ſouls, for our bodies are at their "diſpoſal."

Nevertheleſs, he did not act unworthily of that noble character which he had always maintained for courage and intrepidity. Encompaſſed, as he was, on every ſide, and deprived of all hopes of eſcaping, he drew up his troops in a firm and compact body, and exhorted them to fight like men who had no other proſpect than of ſelling their lives dear, and convincing the enemy, that if they did conquer, they ſhould not obtain a bloodleſs victory: at the ſame time he obliged the king to put on armour, in order to prevent his being known, and to expoſe himſelf in the front of the battle.

Prince Edward began the fight with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Welch, accuſtomed to ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and altogether unfit for a regular engagement, were unable to ſuſtain the firſt onſet, and fled to their own country with great precipitation. Mean while, the earl of Glouceſter attacked in another quarter with equal fury and ſucceſs, having broken the lines of the enemy, and cut an immenſe number of them in pieces.

But notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, Montfort, at the head of a choſen band, ſtill kept his ground, and in ſpite of all the efforts made by his enemies, maintained the battle from two o'clock in the afternoon till night, with the moſt unconquerable obſtinacy and determined reſolution. The king was wounded in the ſhoulder, and in danger of being ſlain, when calling out, "I am Henry of Win-"cheſter, your king," he was ſaved by Adam de Mouhaut. The prince hearing his voice, ran immediately to the ſpot, and carrying him out of the heat of the battle, conducted him to a place of ſafety.

Before Edward returned the earl of Leiceſter was ſlain; his horſe had been killed under him; and when he aſked for quarter, as he fought on foot, it was refuſed by his adverſaries, who told him there

there was none to be given to ſuch a traitor. His ſon Henry ſoon met with the ſame fate; and his troops, now deprived of their two chief leaders, were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that they immediately threw down their arms and ſued for mercy.

Hugh d'Eſpenſer, Ralf Baſſet of Sapcote, Peter de Montfort, John de Beauchamp, W. de Mandeville, Guy de Bardolfe, and all the barons that attended Leiceſter, were ſlain; except John Fitz-John, Nicholas de Seagrave, Henry de Haſtings, Guy de Montfort, Humphrey de Bohun junior, and ſeven or eight others, who were taken priſoners. In a word, no leſs than one hundred and ſixty knights, beſides an infinite number of gentlemen and private ſoldiers, fell in the field of battle; and prince Edward obtained a complete victory, with a very inconſiderable loſs.*

The body of Leiceſter being found among the dead, was cruelly mangled by Roger de Mortimer, who, like a true ruffian as he was, cut off his head, and ſent it

* The loſs of the conquered is always mentioned, and commonly exaggerated; the loſs of the conqueror is ſeldom known, and, for the moſt part, diminiſhed. What number of men were killed on prince Edward's ſide, hiſtorians have not thought proper to inform us. Carte ſays he only loſt one obſcure knight, and two gentlemen: Credat Judæus Apella!

to his wife, as a certain ſign of his being fully revenged upon his enemy; a fit preſent from a barbarous blood-hound, to a female fury! *

The

* The character and conduct of the earl of Leiceſter have been treated with great ſeverity, not to ſay injuſtice, by Mr. Carte and ſome other of our Engliſh hiſtorians. Traitor, rebel, and every other epithet of odious acceptation, are liberally beſtowed upon that nobleman, who, notwithſtanding his treachery, rebellion, &c. as they are pleaſed to expreſs themſelves, was, by their own confeſſion, the original founder, or, at leaſt, the glorious reviver of the houſe of commons.

But the truth is, if the Engliſh had always followed the maxims which Mr. Carte ſeems to recommend, they would never have heard of a magna charta, a houſe of commons, or any other privilege they now enjoy.

It were to be wiſhed, however, that this gentleman, while he ſhewed his affection to abſolute monarchy, and his hatred and averſion to the conſtitution of his country, had been a little more conſiſtent in his principles, and, while he gratified his ſpleen and reſentment, had taken care to preſerve his memory; for, unhappily, he contradicts himſelf in the very ſame page, or, at leaſt, diſcovers a very whimſical and unaccountable diſpoſition.

He exclaims, with open mouth, againſt the arbitrary, deſpotic, and tyrannical meaſures of Henry; taxes him with avarice and extortion in joining with the pope to fleece the people of their treaſure and ſubſtance; upbraids him for his partiality to foreigners, whom he advanced to all places of honour and profit, to the utter neglect of his natural ſubjects; condemns

him

'The face of affairs was entirely changed, by the event of this battle. Thoſe who were

him for his ſloth, indolence, and inactivity, in allowing his enemies abroad to deprive him of his foreign dominions, and his favourites at home to oppreſs the nation, in order to fill their own coffers; and plainly confeſſes, that the government needed a reformation; and yet, the moment the barons undertake this ſalutary work, he alters his note, and inveighs againſt them with greater virulence and acrimony, loading them with the appellation of perfidious, ungrateful, and diſloyal miſcreants, and accuſing them of no leſs than high-treaſon.

But, perhaps, this gentleman is one of that fantaſtical claſs of beings, who take more pleaſure in complaining, than in having the cauſe of their complaints removed, and who, ſhould any one redreſs their grievances, would cry out, like the lunatic in Horace:

——— "Pol! me occidiſtis, amici;
"Non ſervaſtis, ait;" ———

For our own part, we cannot account for Mr. Carte's inconſiſtency in any other manner. Indeed, if he meant to recommend himſelf to the higher powers by his warm and ſpirited declamations in favour of arbitrary and deſpotic principles, he had much better have left out his complaints entirely; for theſe, ſurely, are but a very ungraceful introduction to the compliment he intended to pay; though even, had he taken that method, he has certainly been too late in bringing his wares to market. Such incenſe might have ſold very well before the revolution; but ſince that happy period, we imagine, it will *bear no price.*

On

were formerly oppreſſed, became oppreſſors in their turn. The king, who was naturally

On the contrary, to a prince who has the ſame tender regard for the privileges of his people, as he has for the prerogative of his crown, we cannot conceive it poſſible to offer a greater inſult than to recommend ſuch principles as are entirely deſtructive of theſe privileges.

But, perhaps, this author had a mind to lay in a ſtock of merit againſt ſome future period, which all men of his way of thinking have long wiſhed for in vain; perhaps he flattered himſelf with the pleaſing proſpect of places, penſions, &c. as a reward for the noble ſtand he had made in defence of thoſe principles which coſt a certain prince his throne.

If, indeed, that be the caſe, we ſhould be extremely ſorry to diſturb the gentleman in the enjoyment of his golden dream; for that it will never be any other than a dream, we may venture, without the gift of prophecy, to foretel.

We will not take upon us to vindicate the conduct of the earl of Leiceſter in every particular: perhaps the conduct of no man that ever lived will admit of ſuch a vindication.

We ſhould be glad, however, to know what enormous crimes this nobleman committed, that could render him ſuch an odious aad deteſtable miſcreant as Mr. Carte is pleaſed to repreſent him. He is accuſed of having aſpired to the throne; but that accuſation is founded upon the bare aſſertion of his enemies, without the leaſt ſhadow of proof or evidence. He is ſaid to have formed a deſign againſt the life of the earl of Glouceſter; but that charge reſts upon as weak a foundation as the former.

But he was certainly guilty of riſing in arms againſt his ſovereign; he was; but the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance,

rally vindictive and rapacious, devoted himself entirely to the gratification of these base and dishonourable passions. He assembled a parliament at Wincheſter, in which, as it conſiſted entirely of his own creatures, the effects of the confederates were confiſcated to the king; and a reſolution was taken to puniſh the city of London ſeverely, for the ſupport and aſſiſtance which it had always afforded to the barons. The inhabitants, appriſed of this determination, and hearing they were adjudged to have forfeited their privileges, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, in conſequence of which the city was deprived of its chains, barricadoes, gates, magiſtrates, and charter, which the citizens were obliged to redeem with a large ſum of money; and Thomas Fitz-Thomas, the

ance, in caſes of extreme neceſſity, was, in that age, never ſo much as called in queſtion; and the doctrine of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance was ſo far from being known or profeſſed, that the very words themſelves were not then introduced into the Engliſh language.

But let his conduct, in other reſpects, have been ever ſo exceptionable, he was the original projector, or, at leaſt, the great reſtorer of the houſe of commons; and whoever is a true lover of the conſtitution of his country, and conſiders the houſe of commons as an eſſential branch of that conſtitution, will never treat the memory of the earl of Leiceſter with that indignity and contempt with which Mr. Carte has been pleaſed to uſe it.

the mayor, with four of the principal inhabitants, were committed to priſon, and confined in cloſe cuſtody until they had procured a pardon with the greateſt part of their ſubſtance.

All thoſe who had either joined or favoured the party of the barons were proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. Simon de Montfort, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Leiceſter, dreading the effects of the king's reſentment, endeavoured to ſecure the intereſt of the king of the Romans, whom he had in cuſtody in the caſtle of Kenilworth, and whom, with this view he now diſmiſſed without any ranſom; and many other priſoners, who had been taken in the battle of Lewes, were releaſed by their keepers in the ſame manner.

Mean while, Henry continued to glut his revenge, by ſeizing the perſons, and confiſcating the eſtates of his enemies, not conſidering that by driving them to deſpair, he might ſoon re-involve himſelf in the ſame calamities from which he had been ſo lately delivered. And, in fact, this had well nigh been the caſe. Simon de Montfort finding it impoſſible to obtain a pardon from the king, and knowing he had every thing to fear from his implacable reſentment, quitted the caſtle of Kenilworth,

in

in which he left a ſtrong garriſon, and took poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Axholme.

This place he fortified in ſuch a manner, as to render it a ſafe retreat for his friends and adherents, who flocked in great numbers, and ſeemed to threaten the kingdom with a freſh inſurrection. In order to prevent the impending danger, Edward was ſent to that iſle with a ſtrong body of forces, and after meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he, at laſt, obliged the garriſon to ſurrender upon an aſſurance of life and limb; but with regard to their eſtates, they agreed to ſubmit to the judgment of the king of the Romans, and prince Edward.*

Accordingly, Montfort was brought to court, where he found a powerful mediator in the king of the Romans, who ſolemnly declared, that after the battle of Eveſham, the garriſon of Kenilworth would have put him to death, if Montfort had not ſaved his life at the hazard of his own, and even releaſed him without any ranſom.

Henry is ſaid to have been ſo much affected with this inſtance of generoſity, that he would have pardoned Montfort, and re-admitted him into his favour, had not the earl of Glouceſter oppoſed the motion,

* A. D. 1266.

tion, and diſſuaded him from taking ſuch a dangerous ſtep. However, it was reſolved in council, that Montfort ſhould have leave to depart the kingdom, and enjoy a penſion of five hundred marks a year, provided he would ſurrender the caſtle of Kenilworth; a condition which he was by no means able to perform, inaſmuch as the garriſon refuſed to obey his orders. All the other malecontents, who had reſorted to the Iſle of Axholme, were indulged with a free pardon, upon ſwearing that they would never more riſe in arms againſt their ſovereign; an oath which they ſoon thought proper to break.

Mean while the queen, who had now reſided in France for the ſpace of two years, arrived in England, accompanied by Ottoboni, cardinal of St. Andrian, who was veſted with the character of legate from the pope.

This prelate was furniſhed with a number of bulls from Clement IV. confirming thoſe of his predeceſſor againſt Leiceſter and his adherents, whom he now excommunicated whether dead or alive. At the ſame time he laid an interdict upon their lands; granted the king a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for one year; and ſummoned the biſhops of Worceſter, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, and London, to appear before

before him, and anſwer for their crimes, as well in aſſiſting the earl of Leiceſter in all his rebellious meaſures, as in not obſerving the cenſures which the pope had iſſued againſt that arch-rebel, (as he was pleaſed to call him) and his adherents.

The biſhop of Worceſter having profeſſed repentance, was abſolved before his death, which happened ſoon after; but the other three were ſent to Rome, in order to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the pope ſhould think proper to inflict.

Simon de Montfort, inſtead of going abroad, continued to live for ſome time in prince Edward's palace at London. He ſeemed at firſt to be pretty well ſatisfied with his condition; but whether diſguſted by ſome affront, or weary of a life of inactivity and indolence, he at laſt withdrew, and joined a ſet of pirates belonging to the Cinque-Ports, who beſtowed upon him the command of their ſhips, with which he plundered all the veſſels that came in his way.

As it plainly appeared that the inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports countenanced theſe piracies, prince Edward was ſent with a ſtrong body of forces, to puniſh them for this breach of the peace. He accordingly advanced to Winchelſea, which he took by ſtorm; but the other ports ſub-

mitted upon promiſe of a general pardon, and the confirmation of their privileges, for which they now renewed their oath of allegiance.

Notwithſtanding the victory which prince Edward had obtained at Eveſham, and the conſtant ſucceſs which had ever ſince attended the royal arms, the peace of the kingdom could not yet be ſaid to be fully re-eſtabliſhed: the caſtle of Kenilworth was ſtill in the hands of the revolters; and there was a body in arms in the northern counties, which ravaged the lands and plundered the houſes of the king's adherents.

To ſuppreſs theſe free-booters, Henry, ſon of the king of the Romans, was ſent to the north with a ſtrong party; and, accordingly, he advanced with ſuch expedition that he ſurpriſed the rebels, whom he entirely routed and diſperſed. But he could not ſeize the perſons of their chiefs, who, having aſſociated with ſome other malecontents, particularly thoſe who had been diſlodged from the iſle of Axholme, took poſſeſſion of the iſle of Ely in Cambridgeſhire, from whence they made inroads into the adjacent counties.

About the ſame time Adam Gurdon, who had formerly been governor of Dunſtar-caſtle, and was reckoned the ſtrongeſt man

in

in England, maintained himſelf, with eighty horſe, in the woods between Alton and Farnham, and plundered the counties of Berks and Surry, until he was ſurpriſed by prince Edward, while his men were at ſome diſtance. Edward, ever fond of military glory, was deſirous of encountering ſuch a famous chief in ſingle combat, and therefore commanded his followers to retire: accordingly the fight was immediately begun; both combatants diſcovered the moſt ſurpriſing ſtrength, courage, and dexterity; and the victory remained, for a long time, doubtful; at length, Adam's foot ſlipping, he fell to the ground, and lay at the mercy of the conqueror; who not only granted him his life, but even admitted him into his ſervice: and Gurdon was ſo charmed with the prince's bravery, as well as generoſity, that he continued ever after a faithful friend to the royal cauſe.

Mean while the rebels ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the iſle of Ely; and the caſtle of Kenilworth was ſtill held out by Henry de Haſtings and W. de Patteſhulle, who had fortified the place with ſo much art, ſupplied it with ſuch ſtore of ammunition and proviſion, and furniſhed it with ſuch a ſtrong and numerous garriſon, that, believing it to be abſolutely impregnable, they boldly ſet the king at defiance, and would hearken

to no terms of ſubmiſſion; beſides, they were the rather encouraged to take this violent ſtep, by the promiſes of Simon de Montfort, who aſſured them he would ſoon come to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army.

Henry, incenſed at the inſolence of the rebels, and importuned by the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties, who were greatly infeſted by the excurſions of the garriſon, reſolved to march againſt this fortreſs in perſon; and accordingly arriving before the place, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; but Haſtings, who commanded in chief, inſtead of obeying his order, was ſo cruel as to cut off the head of the herald who brought the meſſage.

The caſtle was preſently inveſted, and the ſiege carried on with great vigour and reſolution for the ſpace of ſix months; but during the whole of that time, the garriſon made ſuch a brave and obſtinate defence, that the king, deſpairing of being able to reduce it any other way than by famine, ordered the ſiege to be turned into a blockade.

As theſe diſturbances were chiefly owing to the ſeverity of the ordinance for confiſcating the eſtates of the rebels, and granting them to the king's adherents, Henry aſſem-

aſſembled a parliament in the town of Kenilworth, in order to mitigate the rigour of that ſentence; and it was decreed, in a new law, called the Dictum de Kenilworth, that all thoſe who had been deprived of their eſtates by that act, ſhould now recover poſſeſſion, upon their engaging to pay, for his majeſty's uſe, in the ſpace of three years, a certain ſum of money (amounting, in ſome caſes, to the value of their eſtates for five years, in ſome of three, and in others of ſtill leſs) according to the nature of the crime of which they had been guilty.

The earl of Derby, who had twice rebelled, was fined in a ſum equal to the revenue of his eſtate for ſeven years; and Haſtings, for his cruelty to the herald, was condemned to impriſonment for the ſame term, unleſs he would conſent to throw himſelf upon the king's mercy.

This award was publiſhed at Coventry on the thirty-firſt of October, and in the hearing of the garriſon of Kenilworth, who, not in the leaſt moved by theſe aſſurances, continued to defend the place with the moſt invincible obſtinacy. At laſt, their proviſions being almoſt exhauſted, their numbers diminiſhed by diſeaſe and hard duty, and no hopes of aſſiſtance appearing, they agreed, if they ſhould not be relieved within

forty days, to ſurrender at the expiration of that term, on condition of ſaving their lives, limbs, horſes, and armour.

The king embracing the propoſal, hoſtages were delivered for the performance of articles; and accordingly, at the time prefixed, the garriſon marched out like ſo many ſpectres, withered and emaciated with famine and fatigue, and leaving in the place ſuch an intolerable ſtench that the beſiegers were almoſt ſuffocated when they entered the caſtle. The king having committed the cuſtody of this fortreſs to his younger ſon Edmund, to whom he had already granted the honour of Lancaſter, the ſtewardſhip of England, and all the eſtate of the late earl of Leiceſter, repaired to Wodeſtoke, where he paſſed his Chriſtmas, and from thence to London, where he kept the feaſt of St. Edward.

Henry's weak mind ſeemed to be intoxicated with ſucceſs. The reduction of Kenilworth, and the hopes of conquering the rebels of Ely, erazed the remembrance of all his former misfortunes; and though Edward had ſworn to the earl of Glouceſter, at the time of his being delivered from the hands of Leiceſter, that he would exert his utmoſt endeavours in reſtoring the ancient laws of the kingdom, and expelling foreigners

reigners from his majeſty's councils, he now ſeemed to have forgot his oath.

Glouceſter obſerved, with extreme regret, that, as Henry's affairs proſpered, both father and ſon acted with leſs moderation, and were more inclined to ſtretch the prerogative beyond the limits preſcribed by the laws. It was rather to prevent the earl of Leiceſter from uſurping the throne, than to enlarge the bounds of the regal power, that he had eſpouſed the cauſe of prince Edward with ſo much warmth: but as he now perceived, that, ſhould the malecontents be once reduced, the king would endeavour to acquire an abſolute authority, he thought it his duty to take every precaution in order to prevent ſuch a terrible calamity.

For this purpoſe he deſired that the malecontents ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, according to the Dictum de Kenilworth, and Henry refuſing to grant his requeſt, he retired to his eſtate on the borders of Wales; engaged in a league with Llewellyn, and ſome neighbouring barons; and ſent aſſurances of aſſiſtance to the revolters in Ely.

His abſence and preparations could not fail to give umbrage to the court; but as he concealed his deſigns, under the pretext of a quarrel with Mortimer, the king, who was naturally lazy and indolent, thought no more

more of the matter; and though the maxims of ſound policy required that he ſhould have given ſatisfaction to ſuch a powerful nobleman, he was yet ſo imprudent as to neglect that important object, and employ his whole attention in concerting meaſures for the reduction of the rebels.

With this view he convoked a parliament, and demanded a ſupply; and as Glouceſter did not make his appearance, he ſent ſome noblemen to perſuade him to come to court, and take his ſeat in the great council of the nation. They found him very buſily employed in raiſing an army, and when they aſked the deſign of theſe great preparations, he declared they were all intended againſt his enemy Mortimer; nay he even went ſo far as to ſign a writing, by which he engaged that he would never bear arms againſt his majeſty.

This obligation and aſſurance entirely removed the ſuſpicions of Henry, who obtained a ſubſidy from parliament for proſecuting the war againſt the rebels; and the legate endeavoured to procure a like aid from the clergy, for the uſe of his holineſs; but in this he was happily diſappointed; the prelates rejected his demand with the utmoſt contempt and diſdain; inveighed bitterly againſt the former extortion of the court of Rome; and declared their fixt reſolution

ſolution never more to ſubmit to ſuch intolerable oppreſſion.*

As ſoon as the parliament broke up, Henry took the field at the head of his army; and advancing into Cambridgeſhire, ſummoned the rebels of Ely to ſurrender. But they were too conſcious of their own ſtrength, and the advantages of their ſituation, to be intimidated by his threats; and their bold and reſolute reſiſtance in the firſt aſſault, abated his ardour to ſuch a degree that he reſolved to defer the ſiege till the arrival of his ſon, who was then employed in reducing a northern baron, named John de Veſcy, who had ſeized the caſtle of Alnewick, which he had formerly fortified, and which he was now obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Mean while the earl of Glouceſter, having raiſed a ſtrong body of troops on his own eſtate and in the principality of Wales, began his march for London; and advanced with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city before it was known whether he acted for the king, or in behalf of the revolters.

The magiſtrates not knowing what courſe to purſue, conſulted with the legate, to whom Henry had committed the cuſtody of the

* A. D. 1267.

the Tower, and were adviſed by him to admit the earl with a few attendants.

He remained quiet for ſome time, without any one being able to diſcover his intention; but two parties of rebels arriving from the country, and taking up their quarters in the ſuburbs, the magiſtrates, who were now fully convinced of his deſign, ordered the drawbridge to be drawn up, and the gates to be guarded for their own ſecurity.

Things continued in this ſtate for a fortnight, during which the earl engaged the citizens in his intereſt: at laſt, having ſufficiently ſtrengthened his party, he ſeized the gates, and allowed the malecontents to enter the city. The populace choſe a new ſet of magiſtrates; bulwarks and barbuans were erected before the tower; trenches were caſt up in the ſtreets, and about the walls; and every poſſible precaution was taken to fortify the place, and provide it for a vigorous defence.

The legate was ſummoned to ſurrender the Tower; and though at firſt he refuſed to obey, yet, being cut off from all communication with the city, ſo that he could receive no further ſupplies of proviſion, he was at laſt obliged to yield, after having excommunicated all thoſe who diſturbed the

the public peace, and laid an interdict upon the churches in London.

Glouceſter was no ſooner become maſter of this fortreſs, than he pulled off the maſk, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had taken up arms to procure reaſonable terms to the malecontents, and that he would not lay them down until he ſhould have compelled the king, and prince Edward, to fulfil their engagements which they had hitherto neglected to perform.

Henry, alarmed at this freſh revolt, and in conſtant fear of being attacked, ſent preſſing orders to his ſon to come to his aſſiſtance; and theſe finding the prince upon his march to the ſouth, he haſtened up to his father, with an army of thirty thouſand men, which he had levied in Scotland and the north of England.

Having united their troops, they advanced towards London, and encamped at Stratford, within three miles of the city, where they were daily re-inforced by great numbers of people; who were rather prompted to this ſtep by their affection for the prince, than their regard for his majeſty.

Glouceſter, who had hoped that the whole kingdom would have eſpouſed his cauſe, and that the king would have been deſerted even by his own forces, was greatly

ly ſurpriſed to hear that the royal army was encreaſed to ſuch a prodigious number; and as he was not in a condition to venture a battle, he remained within the walls of London, and applied to the king of the Romans, by whoſe interceſſion he obtained better terms than he had reaſon to expect. He was not only pardoned upon laying down his arms, but had even the pleaſure of procuring the ſame forgiveneſs for the citizens of London; but, with regard to the rebels of Ely, the king and the prince were altogether inexorable.

This diſturbance being happily compoſed, Edward returned into Cambridgſhire, and the revolters of Ely ſeeing no proſpect of relief, ſurrendered on aſſurance of life and limb,

Then the king reſolved to chaſtiſe Llewellyn, prince of Wales, for the aid and aſſiſtance he had given the rebels, during the late commotions. With this view he advanced to Montgomery, with a ſtrong body of forces; and Llewellyn, unable to cope with ſuch a powerful adverſary, was fain to ſue for a peace, which, by the mediation of the pope's legate, he obtained on the following conditions; that the conquered lands ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, and the cuſtoms of the marches preſerved; that Llewellyn, and his heirs, ſhould enjoy the title

title of prince of Wales, and all the Welch barons do him homage, and ſwear fealty; but that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould hold the principality by the like homage and fealty to the crown of England; and that he ſhould gratify the king with the ſum of five and twenty thouſand marks, as an acknowledgment for this conceſſion.

The peace of the kingdom being thus reſtored, the king aſſembled a parliament, in which the legate Ottoboni declared, that the pope had reſolved to publiſh a cruſade through all the ſtates of Chriſtendom; and he therefore exhorted the Engliſh to contribute their perſons and ſubſtance toward the proſecution of an enterpriſe which was undertaken for no other purpoſe than to promote the glory of God, and the intereſt of the church.*

As the public tranquillity was now reeſtabliſhed, prince Edward, with his brother Edmund and his couſin Henry, received the croſs from the hands of the legate, and their example was followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne and Pembroke, about one hundred and twenty knights, and a vaſt number of inferior quality.

Soon after, another parliament was convoked at Marlborough, in which the

* A. D. 1268.

public grievances were, in ſome meaſure, redreſſed by certain regulations which were enacted into laws, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Statutes of Marlebridge.

At the ſame time a talliage was laid upon all the cities, boroughs, and towns of the royal demeſnes; and the itinerant juſtices reſumed the practice of going the circuits, which had been intermitted ever ſince the meeting of the Oxford-parliament.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the legate aſſembled a council at St. Paul's, where he made ſeveral regulations for the ſervice of the church, which are ſtill known by the name of Ottoboni's Conſtitutions; and having now finiſhed his buſineſs in England, he departed the kingdom about the beginning of July; and in a little time after the king of the Romans ſet out for Germany.

Mean while, Charles count of Anjou had made himſelf maſter of the throne of Sicily, after having defeated his rival Conradin, whom he put to death in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; and as the crown of the Two Sicilies had formerly been united with the Imperial diadem in the perſon of Frederic II. Charles laid claim to all the rights which Frederic had ever enjoyed, particularly to an annual

nual tribute from the king of Tunis, which this prince refuſed to pay.*

Charles was not able, by his own ſtrength, to force him into a compliance; but he had the addreſs to perſuade his brother Lewis to aſſiſt him with an army in invading the dominions of the Mooriſh prince, alledging, that the moſt effectual method of driving the infidels out of the holy land, would be to begin with the conqueſt of Tunis.

Lewis, whoſe zeal was ſo ardent, that he never refuſed to embark in any enterprize, where he might have an opportunity of fighting againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian faith, readily embraced the propoſal, and reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours, in order to engage prince Edward in the project.

With this view he invited him to his court, and prevailed upon him to agree to the ſcheme, by giving him a loan of thirty thouſand marks, for the re-payment of which the prince mortgaged the revenues of Bourdeaux; they then adjuſted ſeveral points relating to the intended expedition, and fixed their departure for the middle of Auguſt in the enſuing year.

About this period the king of the Romans arrived in England, with his new wife Beatrix de Falquemort, niece to Conrad

* A. D. 1269.

archbiſhop of Cologne, a young lady not more diſtinguiſhed by her high birth, than by her exquiſite beauty and rare accompliſhments. His ſon Henry, commonly called Henry D'Almaine, had lately married Conſtance, daughter of Gaſton, viſcount of Bearne, the moſt powerful nobleman in Gaſcony; and his nephew Edmund, the younger ſon of king Henry, eſpouſed Aliva, or Aveline, daughter and heireſs of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle.

Prince Edward's attention was engaged by matters of a very different nature. He was wholly taken up in making preparations for his intended expedition, while his father ſeemed to be entirely engroſſed in celebrating the feaſt of Edward the Confeſſor, and tranſlating the relicts of that ſaint into a new ſhrine of ineſtimable value and curious workmanſhip. The ceremony was performed on the thirteenth of October, with great pomp and ſolemnity, the two kings bearing the relics on their ſhoulders, in preſence of the young princes, and of all the prelates and nobility of the realm.

The parliament, which was aſſembled on this occaſion, granted a twentieth upon all the moveables of the laity, and a tenth of eccleſiaſtical revenues, for the relief of the

the Chriſtians in Paleſtine; and all the debts of the Jews, not transferred to Chriſtians, were applied to the ſame purpoſe.

The public tranquillity was like to have been diſturbed by a difference between prince Edward and the earl of Glouceſter. The earl, ſuſpecting the prince's ſincerity in the reconciliation which had lately been effected between them, did not chuſe to appear at court, and even refuſed to take his ſeat in the two laſt parliaments; nor did he ſeem inclined to go to Paleſtine according to the vow he had made. Edward, afraid of leaving behind him ſuch a powerful and ambitious nobleman, peremptorily inſiſted upon his attending him in the cruſade; and the earl replied, that he would not be directed by him either in that or in any other part of his conduct.

This diſpute, however, was happily compromiſed by the mediation of the king of the Romans, to whoſe award both parties agreed to ſubmit.* He accordingly determined that the earl ſhould attend prince Edward to Paleſtine, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, or ſome other unavoidable impediment; that, if upon his arrival in the holy land, he would join the prince with

* A. D. 1270.

his followers, he ſhould receive eight thouſand marks, and a ſhip for his paſſage; but, if he ſhould chuſe to act by himſelf, he ſhould only receive two thouſand marks, and, at the ſame time, be obliged to give ſecurity for applying it to the purpoſes of the expedition.

He likewiſe gave a bond of twenty thouſand marks, that, ſhould he even be prevented from performing his vow, he would raiſe no diſturbance in England, and agreed to put his caſtles of Tunbridge and Henley into the hands of the king of the Romans, until advice ſhould come of his arrival in the Mediterranean, when they were to be reſtored to ſuch perſons as the earl himſelf ſhould think proper to appoint.

The better to ſecure the public peace, all the caſtles of importance were committed to the cuſtody of ſuch governours as were firmly attached to the intereſts of the prince; and that no ill blood might be left in the kingdom, Robert earl of Ferrers was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, upon giving ſecurity for the payment of fifty thouſand pounds to prince Edmund, to whom it had been granted when it was firſt forfeited by Robert's rebellion.

The

The king had beſtowed upon prince Edward a grant of the Tower, and all his rights in the city of London, together with the duties on all merchandize, whether exported or imported throughout England. This laſt article the prince farmed to a company of Italian merchants, at the rate of ſix thouſand pounds a year; and exacted ſome illegal cuſtoms from the citizens, to whom he ſtill bore an irreconcileable hatred, on account of their conſtant adherence to the barons, and the inſult they had offered to his mother.

However, as he was unwilling, and perhaps afraid to leave ſuch a powerful body ill-affected to the government, he thought proper to remit theſe unreaſonable duties; and even procured a new charter, reſtoring the city to the enjoyment of all its ancient privileges; in conſequence of which the inhabitants choſe their own mayor and ſheriffs, and, as a mark of their gratitude for this favour, preſented the prince with the ſum of five hundred marks towards defraying the expences of the cruſade.

Henry himſelf had made a vow to embark in the ſame expedition; but as it would have been extremely impolitic for both the father and ſon to have been abſent

ſent from the kingdom at once, Henry convoked a parliament at Wincheſter, where, with great ſolemnity, he delivered his croſs to prince Edward, and aſſigned to him the whole produce of the ſubſidy lately granted for the cruſade.

The guardianſhip of Edward's ſon was committed to his uncle the king of the Romans; the cuſtody of his lands was veſted in Walter Giffard, archbiſhop of York, Philip Baſſet, Roger de Mortimer, and Robert Wallerand; and the government of the kingdom, in caſe Henry ſhould die during his ſon's abſence, was to be entruſted to the king of the Romans; and in the event of his death, to Henry d'Almaine; and if he ſhould unhappily be carried off, to ſuch perſon as the four guardians of Edward's lands ſhould think proper to appoint.

Theſe neceſſary precautions being taken, Edward ſet out for Portſmouth, on the fifth day of Auguſt, propoſing to paſs through Spain, that he might have an opportunity of viſiting his brother-in-law, the king of Caſtile; but being detained for a fortnight by contrary winds, he repaired to Dover, and embarked with his princeſs, his couſin Henry d'Almaine, William de Valence, Thomas de Clare, Roger de Clifford, and ſeveral other noblemen.

Lewis

Lewis had landed near Tunis, on the nineteenth of July, with an army of ſixty thouſand men, and taken the caſtle of Carthage; but deferred the ſiege of the capital until the arrival of his brother Charles, king of Sicily.

Mean while, the intolerable heat of the weather occaſioned a violent dyſentery in his army, great part of which was deſtroyed by this dangerous diſtemper; and the king himſelf died of the ſame diſeaſe, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded in the throne of France by Philip the Hardy, who attended him in this expedition.

Charles landed the day after his brother's death, and having defeated the Tuniſians in ſeveral engagements, compelled their king to ſubmit to whatever terms he was pleaſed to propoſe. Theſe were, that he ſhould pay him the ſame tribute which he had been wont to pay to the emperor Frederic, and allow the Chriſtians to exerciſe a free trade, and make public profeſſion of their religion, throughout all his dominions.

Edward hearing of the death of the French king, reſumed his firſt deſign of proceeding directly for Paleſtine; but being importuned by Philip to join him in Africa, he

he ſailed thither, and arrived at Tunis on the tenth of November.

Though his hopes of ſucceſs were greatly damped by the deceaſe of Lewis, he nevertheleſs reſolved to continue his voyage to Paleſtine; nor could he be diverted from his purpoſe, by all the ſollicitations of Philip and Charles, who both endeavoured to perſuade him to poſtpone the expedition. *

He therefore ſet ſail for Sicily, where he propoſed to paſs the winter; and, during his abode in that country, ſent back his couſin Henry d'Almaine to take care of the affairs of Gaſcony, and be ready to paſs into England on any emergency. He himſelf embarked at Trapani early in the ſpring, and arrived in May at Acra, where his princeſs was delivered of a daughter, named Jane, who was afterwards married to the earl of Glouceſter.

Henry d'Almaine accompanied the kings of France and Sicily to Viterbo, where the cardinals had been long aſſembled, and greatly

* Edward's reſolution to go to Paleſtine, was ſo fixt and determined, that, when he was diſſuaded from proſecuting the voyage, he ſmote his breaſt, and broke out into the following oath: "By the blood of God," ſaid he, "I will go to Acon; though you ſhould all "deſert me, and I ſhould be attended thither by none "but Fowen my groom." *W. Riſh.*

greatly divided in their ſentiments about the choice of a new pope, and there he * was baſely murdered in the church of the Franciſcans, by his own couſins Simon and Guy de Montfort, ſons of the late earl of Leiceſter. The college of cardinals immediately denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt the barbarous aſſaſſins, as did likewiſe Gregory X. after his elevation to the papal throne: and the king of Sicily endeavoured to ſeize their perſons in Tuſcany; but they found means to elude his moſt vigorous efforts for that purpoſe, and at laſt effected their eſcape.

Philip of France expreſſed great concern for the unhappy fate of young Henry; but, notwithſtanding that circumſtance, Edward ſtrongly ſuſpected that the murder had been perpetrated by his connivance; and this ſuſpicion was the ſource of that animoſity which ever after ſubſiſted between theſe two princes.

It had been ſtipulated by a former treaty, that, upon the deceaſe of Alphonſo count of

* The body of this amiable young prince, who was equally remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, the humanity of his temper, and the ſolidity of his parts, was brought over to England, and interred in the monaſtery of Hayles in Glouceſterſhire, founded by his father; and his heart was depoſited in a golden cup in Weſtminſter-abbey, near St. Edward's ſhrine. *T. Wikes.*

of Poitiers, and his wife Jane heireſs of Thouloufe, the king of England ſhould obtain poſſeſſion of the Agenois, Saintogne beyond the Charente, and part of Quercy; and as both Alphonſo and his wife were now dead, Henry required the king of France to give him ſeiſin of theſe territories, and at the ſame time ſent the abbot of Weſtminſter, and John de la Lynde, to do homage for them in his name.*

Philip was extremely unwilling to part with theſe lands; and, in want of a better pretext for detaining them, inſiſted upon Henry's doing homage to him in perſon.

In vain did the latter plead his want of health, and the infirmities of old age; Philip was determined to admit of no excuſe, and accordingly refuſed to perform the articles of the treaty. But, however Philip might conſider Henry's illneſs as only pretended, it was, in effect, but too real. His health had declined daily from the departure of his ſon prince Edward, to whom, on that account, he had written ſeveral letters, preſſing him to return with all expedition.

Beſides, he found himſelf altogether unable to manage the affairs of the kingdom. The great lords, taking the advantage of his weakneſs, oppreſſed the people with impunity;

* A. D. 1271.

punity; unlawful aſſemblies were held, and dangerous aſſociations formed in Yorkſhire and other counties; bands of deſperate robbers infeſted various parts of the nation; and the populace of London were become ſo riotous and ungovernable, that the king was obliged to exerciſe ſome wholeſome ſeverities, in order to prevent them from breaking forth into an open ſedition.

The Londoners, however, were not guilty of ſuch outrages as were committed by the inhabitants of Norwich, who, in a quarrel between them and the monks, about their privileges, attacked the monaſtery, ſet fire to the gates, burned an adjoining pariſh-church, with the almonry, priory, refectory, dormitory, infirmary, and all the buildings in the outer court, forced the convent, murdered ſeveral monks in the cloyſters, dragged out the reſt, whom they either butchered in the ſtreets or committed to priſon, carried off the conſecrated veſſels, the church treaſury, veſtments, library, and all the moveables which had eſcaped the fury of the flames; and this ſcene of blood, fire, and plunder, continued for three days without intermiſſion.*

The king, alarmed at this inſurrection, convoked a parliament at St. Edmundſbury,

* A. D. 1272.

in order to concert measures for punishing the authors of such an horrible massacre, who were already excommunicated by the bishop of Norwich; and Henry, by the advice of his prelates and nobility, went thither himself and deprived the city of its liberties.

An inquest, composed of forty-eight knights from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, was likewise appointed to examine into the particulars of the fact; and the criminals being tried before the justices itenerant, Lawrence de Broc and Thomas Trivet, father of the historian, thirty of the most notorious offenders were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and burnt; the effects of those who fled were confiscated; and some clergymen, suspected of having encouraged the tumult, or of being concerned in the plunder, were delivered over to the bishop to be tried in the ecclesiastical court.

Henry having staid twelve days at Norwich, returned to St. Edmunsbury, where he was seized with a languishing distemper which brought him to his grave. He had been wont, on former occasions, to commit the guardianship of the kingdom to his brother Richard, king of the Romans; but that prince

prince had, a few months before, been carried off by a palſy.

Having therefore no friend about his perſon, to whom he could intruſt ſuch an important charge, he ordered himſelf to be moved by eaſy journies to Weſtminſter, where his diſeaſe increaſed to ſuch a degree that he was thought to be paſt all hopes of recovery.

And now finding his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter on the ſixteenth of November, and obliged him to take an oath that he would preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and exert his utmoſt endeavours in ſupporting the intereſt of his ſon. That ſame night he expired, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the fifty-ſeventh of his reign; and next morning the great ſeal was delivered by John de Kireby and P. de Winton, the keepers, to the archbiſhop of York and the other lords of the privy-council.

His body, according to his own direction, was interred near the ſhrine of St. Edward, in Weſtminſter-abbey, where his tomb, with his ſtatue in braſs, is ſtill to be ſeen.*

* He left behind him his two eldeſt ſons and daughters, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Edmund, earl of Lancaſter; Margaret, queen of

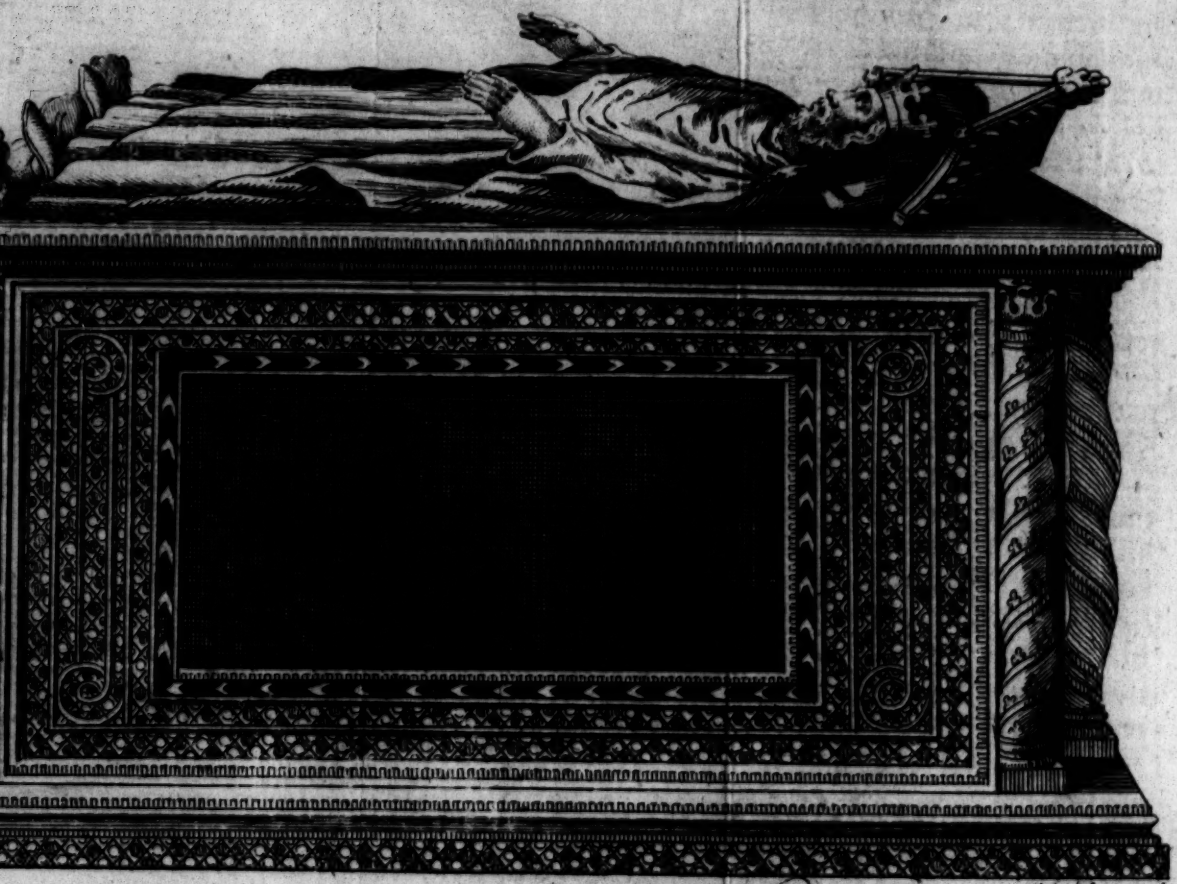
Our ancient historians have said nothing of Henry's person, except that he was of a middle size, robust make, and strong constitution, and that his left eye-lid hung down so far as to cover a great part of his eye.

His character is so apparent from the history of his life, that it is almost needless to draw it with greater particularity. His narrow genius and capricious temper, his attachment to foreigners and diffidence of his own subjects, his arbitrary principles and oppressive measures, were certainly the real causes of all those troubles which disturbed his reign.

Careless and inconsiderate in prosperity, he never improved the advantages which, by a favourable concurrence of circumstances, fell in his way; and abject and desponding in adversity, he was never able to extricate himself out of those difficulties, in which, by his own folly and imprudence, he was unhappily involved: profuse and prodigal in his expences, he was ever in extreme poverty; greedy and rapacious in his disposition, his subjects were always upon their guard against his unrea-

of Scotland; and Beatrix, duchess of Bretagne: his four younger sons, Richard, John, William, and Henry, as well as his youngest daughter Catharine, died in their infancy.

The Monument of **HENRY. III.** in Westminster Abby.



T. Kitchin sculp

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

EDWARD I.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

unreaſonable exactions, and never ſupplied his wants but with the utmoſt reluctance.

Yet it muſt be owned that he was neither addicted to debauchery, nor prone to cruelty; we never hear of his miſtreſſes or natural children; and he contented himſelf with puniſhing the rebels in their effects, when he might have deluged the ſcaffold with their blood.

EDWARD I. ſurnamed LONG-SHANKS. A. D. 1272.

EDWARD, at the time of his father's deceaſe, was not returned from his expedition to Paleſtine. Upon his arrival at Acon, he found that city inveſted by the ſoldan of Babylon, who, though he had already made a lodgement in the ſuburbs, and Edward's army did not exceed a thouſand men, was yet ſo terrified at the approach of that prince, that he inſtantly raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his forces.

However inconſiderable Edward's army was at his firſt landing, he was ſoon joined by ſeven thouſand Chriſtians, who were deſirous of fighting under the banners of a prince already diſtinguiſhed for his military talents. Thus re-inforced, he

marched to Nazareth, which he preſently reduced; but in his return he fell into an ambuſcade of Saracens, whom, nevertheleſs, he eaſily defeated. He then advanced to Cackow, where a large body of the infidels lay encamped; theſe he attacked with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that, after having loſt about a thouſand men, they fled with great precipitation, and Edward, having obtained a conſiderable booty, returned next day to Acon.

But theſe actions, however brave and ſucceſsful, were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the ambitious mind of Edward. He wanted to undertake ſome enterprize of greater importance; and as his army was too weak for any attempt of that nature, he applied to the government of Cyprus for a re-inforcement.

The Cypriots granted to the nephew of Richard what they had denied to the king of Jeruſalem, and, at the ſame time, ſent him a polite meſſage, importing, that they ſhould always be glad of an opportunity to ſerve the royal family of England, to which they had formerly acknowledged ſubjection.

Edward's name was already become ſo famous in the Eaſt, that Albaga, king of the Tartars, who had ſubdued a great part of Aſia, and taken the laſt of the Caliphs in

in Baldac with an immenſe treaſure, wrote letters to the Engliſh prince, expreſſing the veneration he had for his character, and offering to aſſiſt him with a ſtrong body of forces.

What gained him the eſteem of the generous Tartar, expoſed him to the reſentment of the cruel Saracens, who hearing of this offer, and dreading the conſequences of his being placed at the head of a numerous army, reſolved to deprive him of life in a moſt treacherous and perfidious manner. The old man of the mountain, indeed, had been lately taken in his capital by the Tartars, who put him and all his followers to the ſword; but there was ſtill left an aſſaſſin, who had been brought up under that chief, and who now undertook to murder the prince of England.

To effect this purpoſe with the greater eaſe, he received letters from the governour of Joppa, propoſing a negociation with Edward, by which means he gained an eaſy admittance to the prince, who had ſeveral conferences with him in the French language, which the Saracen underſtood.

Having thus ſecured a full liberty of ingreſs and egreſs, he, on the Friday of Whitſun-week, entered the apartment of Edward,

Edward, who, as the weather was extremely hot, was ſitting on his bed in a looſe garment. The aſſaſſin perceiving there was no other perſon in the room, ſhut the door behind him, and pulling out a poiſoned dagger from beneath his girdle, attempted to ſheath it in the prince's belly. Edward warded off the ſtroke with ſurprizing addreſs, but received a deep wound in his arm; and obſerving the villain about to repeat the blow, ſtruck him with his foot on the breaſt with ſo much force, that he brought him to the ground: then he endeavoured to wreſt the weapon out of his hand, and receiving in the ſtruggle another wound in his forehead, he was enraged to ſuch a degree, that he inſtantly plunged it in the ruffian's heart.

The prince's ſervants, alarmed at the noiſe, ruſhed into the room; and one of them (who was his muſician) inflamed with rage, and diſtracted with terror, ſnatched up a joint-ſtool, and daſhed out the brains of the dead aſſaſſin, for which he was ſeverely reprimanded by his maſter for thus abuſing a lifeleſs corpſe.

Nor was this the only inſtance of moderation which Edward diſcovered on the preſent occaſion; when the Chriſtians adviſed him to revenge this horrid and deteſtable attempt, by ſacrificing all the Saracens

racens that were in his cuſtody, he rejected the propoſal with a noble diſdain, obſerving, that the innocent ought never to be puniſhed for the guilty, and that ſuch a ſtep would not only be cruel and barbarous to the laſt degree, but would alſo draw down the like vengeance upon all the pilgrims that were in Jeruſalem.

The wound in his arm appearing to be extremely dangerous, and likely to turn to a gangrene, he made his will, and expected his fate with the moſt perfect compoſure; but his valuable life was happily ſaved by the extraordinary ſkill of an Engliſh ſurgeon, who ſcarified the mortified parts, and finiſhed the cure in little more than a fortnight.*

The

* We are extremely ſorry that we cannot pay the ladies a compliment by admitting the truth of that celebrated ſtory which makes Edward's life to have been ſaved by the unexampled tenderneſs and affection of his princeſs Eleanor, who is ſaid to have ſucked the poiſon out of his wound.

The firſt that mentions this ſtory is Cambden in his Britannia, from whence it has been tranſcribed by Speed into his Chronicle; and both theſe authours quote Rodericus Toletanus as their voucher: but it happens unluckily that this prelate, who, to the beſt of our knowledge, never laid claim to the gift of prophecy, finiſhed his hiſtory, as he himſelf informs us, in the year 1243, i. e. about twenty-eight years before the fact is ſaid to have happened.

However,

The ſoldan of Babylon being informed of his recovery, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him upon ſo happy an event, aſſuring him in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he was entirely ignorant of the treacherous deſign, and modeſtly propoſing ſome terms of accommodation.

Though Edward was far from being convinced of the ſoldan's innocence, he yet affected to believe his declaration; and conſidering the ſmall number of his troops, who were greatly diſpirited by the late diſaſter, the little probability of his receiving any aſſiſtance, the great power of the enemy, and the letters of his father preſſing his return, he readily embraced the propoſals of peace, and concluded a truce for ten years, ten weeks, and as many days.*

The truce being ratified and confirmed, Edward embarked at Acra about the latter end of Auguſt, and in the month of October arrived at Trapani in Sicily, where he received the diſagreeable news of his father's deceaſe, as well as of the death

However, we can aſſure the ladies, for their comfort, that Eleanor was a moſt excellent wife, and that had ſhe believed this dangerous experiment to be the only poſſible means of preſerving her huſband's life, ſhe would very probably have it tried.

* A. D. 1272.

death of his own ſon John, in the ſixth year of his age. He was deeply affected with both theſe events: the laſt, however, he bore with much compoſure, but appeared altogether inconſolable for the firſt; and when Charles count of Anjou expreſſed his ſurprize, that he ſhould be ſo much more afflicted for the loſs of his father, than for that of his own ſon, he replied, that the loſs of a child might poſſibly be ſupplied, but that of a parent was irreparable.

Though Edward was at ſo great a diſtance from his dominions at the time of his father's death, and Richard king of the Romans with his ſon Henry were now no more, yet Walter Giffard, archbiſhop of York, and the lords of the council, managed matters with ſo much prudence that no bad conſequence enſued. Early in the morning after the king's death, they proclaimed king Edward in Weſtminſter-hall, charging all perſons to keep the peace, as well towards Jews as Chriſtians. Then repairing into the city, they made the like proclamation in Guild-hall, and repeated the ſame injunctions.

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the citizens had like to have raiſed a tumult about the election of a mayor. The aldermen and common-council voted for Philip de Tailleur; and the populace declared for Walter

Walter Hervey, a turbulent and factious man, who set up for a demagogue, or patron of the poorer citizens.

The dispute began during Henry's last illness; and both parties repaired to Westminster, in order to appeal to his majesty, whom they greatly disturbed by their noise and clamour.

This scene of riot and confusion continued for several days successively, and the populace had actually formed a design of plundering and destroying the richer citizens, when, upon Henry's death, the members of the king's council went into the city, and reconciled the two parties, by proposing a new election at St. Paul's cross, where Hervey was chosen mayor, after having sworn that he would not molest or oppress any person who had opposed him.

This troublesome dispute being happily compromised, and the solemnity of Henry's funeral performed, the council ordered the great seal to be broken, and a new one to be made in its place, with an alteration in the name, which was delivered to Walter de Merton the chancellor. All the noblemen who were present at the obsequies, took the oath of allegiance to Edward; the king's peace was re-published, and orders were sent to all the sheriffs in England to proclaim it in their respective counties.

In

In leſs than a fortnight after the funeral, the great council of the nation was aſſembled in the New Temple, and the oath adminiſtered to all the prelates, noblemen, and freeholders in the kingdom. Thoſe of Ireland ſwore fealty to Edward, before Maurice Fitz-Maurice, the juſticiary of that kingdom; but Llewellyn ap Griffith, prince of North-Wales, being ſummoned to meet the king's commiſſioners at the ford of Montgomery, and take the oath of allegiance, refuſed to obey the order.

Edward himſelf ſeems to have been apprehenſive of ſome diſturbance in London, for which reaſon he wrote a letter from Sicily, directed to the mayor, ſheriffs, and commons, requiring them to keep the peace of the city.

But before the arrival of this letter, all diſputes were happily accommodated by the care and vigilance of Walter Merton, the chancellor, who, though an eccleſiaſtic, boldly oppoſed the encroachments of the clergy, whenever they happened to interfere with the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of the people. He refuſed to agree to the proviſion of the late pope, who had appointed Robert de Kilwarby archbiſhop of Canterbury, without a canonical election, or the conſent of the king; nor would he allow the biſhop of Chicheſter,

though abſolved by his holineſs, to enter the kingdom, becauſe he was accompanied by Amaury de Montfort; nay he was ſo enraged at that prelate, for ſuch an inſtance of diſloyalty and preſumption, that he even ſeized his barony and deprived him of the revenue of his eſtate.

He was equally active and ſucceſsful in ſuppreſſing the bands of robbers that infeſted the country, and in filling the king's coffers, by impoſing a talliage upon the cities, boroughs, and demeſnes of the crown. *

In the mean time Edward repaired to Rome, in conſequence of an invitation from Gregory X. who accompanied him to Paleſtine, from whence he had been lately recalled to fill the papal throne; and in order to reimburſe him for the expences of the cruſade, he now granted him a tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in England, for the ſpace of two or three years.

In paſſing through Italy, he was every where received with the greateſt honours, and the moſt hearty acclamations; and was met, on the borders of Savoy, by a number of Engliſh prelates and noblemen. His queen had hitherto kept him company; but now parted with him at Lyons, and went into Gaſcony, where ſhe was ſoon after

* A. D. 1273.

after delivered of a ſon, named Alphonſo.

The fame of his proweſs, which filled the world with wonder and admiration, excited the envy or provoked the vanity of ſome noblemen of Bourgogne; and when he came to Chalons ſur Saone, the count of that territory, deſirous of engaging with ſuch a renowned hero, propoſed a tournament, and even defied Edward to a trial of ſkill.

Edward was never averſe to any propoſal of that nature; he readily accepted the challenge, and, with his knights, holding the field againſt all that would enter the liſts againſt him, came off victorious, to the no ſmall mortification of the count, who was ſo enraged at his defeat, that he converted the ludicrous combat into a real battle. Some lives were loſt in the ſcuffle; but the Engliſh ſtill maintained their ground.

From Chalons Edward proceeded to Paris, where he was magnificently entertained by Philip, to whom he did homage for all the lands he held in France, and even for thoſe territories which (as he expreſſed himſelf on the occaſion) he ought to hold, and of which he probably reſolved to recover the poſſeſſion, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould offer.

After having ſtayed about a fortnight at Paris, he ſet out for Gaſcony; and Gaſton de Moncade, viſcount of Bearne, who had raiſed a rebellion in his abſence, retired, at his approach, into the mountainous parts of the country; but thither he was cloſely purſued, and taken in one of his caſtles.

Gaſton was treated with great lenity and indulgence, and even ſuffered to ride abroad for his exerciſe and diverſion, in conſequence of an oath he had taken that he would not leave the court without the king's licence; but, notwithſtanding that obligation, he no ſooner found an opportunity than he made his eſcape.

He was afterwards cited to appear in the court of Gaſcony, held at St. Sever, and, having refuſed to obey the ſummons, he was declared a rebel, and all his towns, caſtles, and effects, were forfeited to his majeſty. The king entered Bearne with an army, in order to put the ſentence in execution; and Gaſton, to avert the impending danger, appealed to Philip, as lord-paramount of the country.

Edward paid ſo much regard to this appeal, that he withdrew his troops, and publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding any perſon to injure the viſcount or his vaſſals, until the matter ſhould be finally determined. The cauſe was accordingly tried in the

the court of France, where it was decreed that Gaſton ſhould go to England, throw himſelf at the king's feet, and ſubmit to whatever terms his majeſty ſhould think proper to impoſe.

Edward would not pretend to judge in a cauſe in which himſelf was ſo nearly concerned; he therefore referred the whole matter to the arbitration of the king of France; and Gaſton, diſpleaſed with this reference, had the inſolence to demand that he might be allowed to decide the diſpute with Edward in ſingle combat. The king rejected his propoſal with a becoming indignation; and the viſcount continued in a ſtate of outlawry for ſix years, at the end of which he was indulged with a pardon, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his territories.

While Edward was in Gaſcony, he formed two alliances, which he had reaſon to think would be productive of many advantages. The one was with Peter the eldeſt infant of Arragon, and the other with Henry I. king of Navarre; and they were ſtrengthened by contracts of marriages between the children of Peter and Henry, and thoſe of the king of England; but the marriages unhappily never took place.

Peter's eldeſt ſon, who was affianced to Edward's daughter Eleanor, did not live to the age of manhood; and the king of Navarre dying in the courſe of the following year, Blanche of Artois, his widow, and mother of Jane the young princeſs, betrothed to Henry prince of England, carried her to Paris, where ſhe was afterwards married to Philip the Fair, and added the kingdom of Navarre and the counties of Champagne and Brie to the crown of France.

Edward having ſettled the affairs of Gaſcony, reſolved to ſet out for England immediately, that ſo he might arrive time enough to be crowned on the Sunday after Eaſter; but the pope, apprehenſive that ſuch a ſtep might hinder ſome of the Engliſh prelates from attending the council which he had ſummoned to meet at Lyons on the firſt of May, perſuaded him to defer his journey.*.

The chief intention of his holineſs in aſſembling this council, was to procure an aid for the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine; and it was accordingly agreed that for that purpoſe a tenth ſhould be levied upon all eccleſiaſtical revenues in Europe for the ſpace of ſix years. Edward ſent agents to attend this aſſembly, which was

* A. D. 1274.

was no ſooner broke up, than he ſet out on his journey for England.

At Montreuil he was met by Guy de Dampiere, count of Flanders, who waited for him at that place, in order to compromiſe a difference, which, for ſome time, had interrupted the commerce between the Engliſh and the Flemings. The kings of England had been wont, ever ſince the conqueſt, to grant a penſion to the counts of Flanders in return for certain ſervices which the latter engaged to perform; and Margaret, the preſent counteſs, pretended a right to the ſame annuity. She had lately ſent an agent to the Engliſh court, inſiſting upon the payment of all the arrears that were due to her, and a regular remittance of the penſion for the future; but her demand was rejected as ridiculous and unjuſt; and ſhe, in revenge, cauſed all the effects of the Engliſh and Gaſcon merchants reſiding in her dominions, to be ſeized and confiſcated.

The Flemings in England were treated in the ſame manner; and a proclamation publiſhed, forbidding the exportation of wool to Flanders under the ſevereſt penalties; a circumſtance that diſtreſſed Margaret to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was fain to ſue for an accommodation, in order to accompliſh which ſhe now ſent her ſon to Montreuil to treat with Edward.

The

The king ordered some of the principal citizens of London to come to Montreuil, and assist at the conferences; and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that Margaret should renounce all title to the pension, indemnify the English merchants for the loss they had sustained by the seizure of their effects, and oblige some of her chief nobility to be surety for the performance of these articles.

This difference being compromised, and a free trade opened with Flanders, Edward embarked for England, and arrived at Dover on the second of August. On the nineteenth day of the same month he was crowned at Westminster by Robert de Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, amidst a greater concourse of prelates, nobility and people than had ever been seen on the like occasion; and who were all entertained for a fortnight at the king's expence. His brother Edmund, earl of Lancaster, officiated as high-steward of England at this solemnity; but as it had frequently been found dangerous to invest a subject with an hereditary right to this dignity, he next day renounced all claim to it in fee and inheritance, though Edward allowed him to enjoy it for life.

Among

Among the other illuſtrious perſons who graced this ceremony with their preſence, were Alexander III. king of Scotland, who did homage for the lands he held of England, and John duke of Brittany with their wives Margaret and Beatrix; but both theſe ladies, who were Edward's ſiſters, died in the Lent following. Soon after the king ſuſtained an additional loſs by the death of his ſon Henry, as did alſo his brother Edmund, by the deceaſe of his wife Aveline, heireſs of Albemarle, Holderneſſe, and Devon. At the coronation, five hundred horſes were turned looſe into the fields, as the property of thoſe who ſhould happen to catch them.

As Edward's finances were but in a bad condition, he would have been little able to defray the expences of all theſe particulars, had not his coffers been ſeaſonably filled by the tax upon eccleſiaſtical revenues, with which the pope had lately indulged him; but as this ſupply was almoſt exhauſted, and as he had often obſerved the bad effects of his father's negligence and want of œconomy, he now reſolved to examine into the ſtate of his own revenues.

With this view he appointed commiſſioners of inqueſt, to make a progreſs through the kingdom, and take an exact account of all

all the tenants that held of him, either by military ſervice or in ancient demeſne; of the number of fees enjoyed by the former, and the condition of the farms poſſeſſed by the latter; and that he might not neglect the privileges of the people, while he ſecured the prerogatives of the crown, the ſame commiſſioners were directed to enquire into the conduct of magiſtrates and ſheriffs, in conſequence of which all thoſe who had been guilty of bribery, extortion, or any other miſdemeanor, were turned out of their places, which were immediately ſupplied with perſons of greater probity and virtue.

In order to guard againſt ſuch maleverſations for the future, he convoked a general parliament, in which many excellent laws were made for the advantage of the people, who were ſo well ſatisfied with theſe regulations, that they granted him a fifteenth of all their moveables, to pay the debts he had contracted in the cruſade.

The merchants too were ſo ſenſible of his goodneſs, in taking care of their intereſts in the late treaty with Flanders, in providing for the ſecurity of their effects in caſe of ſhipwreck, and freeing them from ſeveral heavy duties and unreaſonable tolls, that they unanimouſly ſubjected themſelves to a voluntary impoſition. It was at their own

deſire

deſire that a tax of half a mark was laid on every ſack of wool, and twice as much upon every three hundred ſkins and every laſt of leather, to be raiſed throughout England, Wales, and Ireland, for the uſe of the king and his heirs for ever. This tax was called the new cuſtom, in contradiſtinction to that which had been formerly paid, and is ſaid to have been granted by the prelates, the nobility, and the whole community of merchants in the kingdom.

Among the many laws enacted in this parliament, there were ſome relating to the Jews. Theſe people, during the diſturbances of the late reign, had, by bribing the king's council, been admitted to all the privileges of Chriſtian natives; they purchaſed houſes, lands, and manors; appeared at aſſizes to ſerve on juries; received oaths of fealty and homage, from their dependants; and enjoyed ſeiſin and the wardſhips of Chriſtian heirs, together with the right of preſentation to churches.

The clergy exclaimed loudly (and with good reaſon too) againſt this enormity, which indeed gave great offence to the whole body of the nation. The king himſelf was ſhocked at ſuch a ſcandalous practice, which he now took care to aboliſh by a law, rendering the Jews incapable of holding fee or freehold; obliging them to wear

wear a mark on their outward garment to diſtinguiſh them from Chriſtians; and forbidding them, on pain of incurring the ſevereſt penalties, to lend money upon uſury.

We have already obſerved in the life of Henry, that according to the Dictum de Kenilworth, all the forfeited eſtates were to be reſtored to the original owners upon their paying a certain ſum to his majeſty, according to the nature of their offence; and as this depended in a great meaſure upon the length of time they had continued in rebellion, and as the preciſe period at which the rebellion commenced was not diſtinctly aſcertained, the deciſion of theſe points occaſioned much diſpute and altercation, and diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent and animoſity among the barons.

In order to remedy this inconvenience, Edward declared that none ſhould be conſidered as rebels who had not appeared in arms from the month of April, when his father marched towards Northampton, till the ſixteenth day of September in the following year, when the peace was proclaimed in the parliament of Wincheſter.

While Edward was thus laudably employed in reforming the ſtate of the kingdom, he was ſummoned to Paris as a peer

of

of France, to assist at the trial of a great cause depending between the duke of Burgundy and Robert count of Nevers, touching the right of succession to that dutchy; but he sent agents to excuse his non-attendance, on account of the unsettled state of his own affairs; and his apology was readily admitted by Philip the Hardy.

The pope likewise demanded the sum of eight thousand marks, as the arrears of the annual revenue, which, ever since the time that John had shamefully resigned his crown to the Roman pontiff, had been paid by the kings of England to his holiness. Edward would willingly have freed himself from this disgraceful mark of dependance upon a foreign power; but, afraid of embroiling himself with the clergy in the beginning of his reign, he at last consented to the payment.

However, in order to render this tribute less dangerous and dishonourable, he afterwards proposed to pope Nicholas III. that, instead of being issued out of the exchequer, it should be charged upon some abbeys and priories, which he would endow with lands of an equal value; but this would have been entirely inconsistent with all the maxims of the court of Rome, which, far from relinquishing any claim she has once obtain-

ed or uſurped, is always ſure to improve it to the beſt advantage; and as this tribute might one day be made a pretext for advancing farther claims upon the Engliſh crown, Nicholas rejected the propoſal.

Edward having thus ſettled the affairs of the nation, reſolved to chaſtiſe Llewellyn, prince of North-Wales, who had refuſed to do homage for his territories, and ſeemed bent upon renouncing his allegiance to the crown of England. Immediately after the death of Henry, and before the return of Edward, he had been ſummoned to come and take the oath to the abſent king; but he declined complying with this order.

When Edward arrived, he was again ſummoned to do homage, and aſſiſt at the coronation as a vaſſal; but he ſtill found an excuſe for neglecting the citation; he pretended that the Engliſh had violated the articles of the laſt treaty, and committed ſeveral outrages on the Welch borders, for which he now demanded ſatisfaction. In order to remove this pretence, Edward ſent commiſſioners to accommodate the difference, and again ſummoned him to repair to court, and ſwear fealty.

He ſtill refuſed to obey; and hearing that the archbiſhop of Canterbury threaten-

ed

ed to excommunicate his perſon, and lay his lands under an interdict, he applied to the pope, who forbade the prelate to proceed to ſuch extremities, as Llewellyn offered to do homage to the king in perſon, on the frontiers of his dominions, where alone he alledged he was obliged to perform it. Edward agreed to receive it even in this manner, and accordingly ſet out for Shrewſbury, to meet the Welch prince; but falling ill on the road, the interview was delayed till another time.

Llewellyn was afterwards ſummoned to appear before the parliament; but he paid no regard to this citation; he now pretended, that, as Edward had always diſcovered a perſonal hatred and animoſity againſt him, he could not think himſelf ſafe at the Engliſh court; but would do homage to the crown in his own country, if the king would ſend commiſſioners to receive it, or in any neutral place he ſhould chuſe to appoint; and in caſe neither of theſe offers ſhould be accepted, he declared he was willing to come to Weſtminſter, provided the king would ſend his eldeſt ſon, together with the earl of Glouceſter and the chancellor, into Wales, as pledges for the ſafety of his perſon. Edward, provoked at this inſolent propoſal, reſolved to reduce

him by force of arms; and the parliament was no sooner broken up, than he began to make preparations for that purpose.

Mean while Eleanor de Montfort, daughter of the late earl of Leicester, who was affianced to Llewellyn, and was coming from the Continent to Wales, under the conduct of her brother Amaury, was taken in her passage by a ship belonging to Bristol, and delivered to the king's officers. The young lady was detained in the queen's court, but treated with great civility and politeness; and her brother was confined first in the castle of Corfe, and afterwards in that of Sherburn, until the pope claiming him as his chaplain, he was removed to an ecclesiastical prison.

Llewellyn demanded his bride, and offered to do homage at Montgomery or Osweſtre, provided he was favoured with a safe-conduct, subscribed by the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the bishop of Winton, the earls of Norfolk, Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Warenne, and Roger de Mortimer.

The parliament, incensed at this insolent proposal, advised the king to subdue him by force of arms, and granted a large subsidy for that purpose. Llewellyn was, by a sentence of the king's court, declared guilty

of

of contumacy, and breach of the peace, and a reſolution was taken to proceed againſt him as an open rebel.

The military tenants of the crown were ſummoned to meet at Worceſter, by the enſuing Midſummer; the marches were guarded; the forts were furniſhed with garriſons, and ſupplied with plenty of ammunition; and all the ſubjects of Edward, whether in England, Ireland, or Guienne, were forbid to hold any correſpondence with Llewellyn, or his adherents, under pain of incurring the penalty of high-treaſon.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſuffragans, again threatened him with the ſentences of excommunication and interdict, which were actually publiſhed in the month of February following.* A body of three hundred men was immediately ſent to the marches, to prevent the incurſions of the Welch: Roger de Mortimer was appointed commander of all the forces in Herefordſhire, Salop, and the adjacent counties; and, in order to weaken Llewellyn, by detaching his friends from his intereſt, William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Pagen de Chaworth, who commanded in Cheſhire, were empowered to grant a pardon to ſuch barons as ſhould be willing to

 ſubmit,

* A. D. 1277.

ſubmit, and ſwear fealty to the king of England.

This expedient had a good effect: Reſe ap Meredith, lord of Dynevaur, with all the noblemen of South-Wales, readily accepted the propoſal, and actually did homage, on condition of holding their lands immediately of the crown; and the caſtle of Stratywy was delivered to Chaworth, who built another at Aberyſtwyth, in order to overawe the enemy.

Llewellyn could not depend upon his ſubjects, even in North-Wales; his brothers, David and Roderic, whom he had ſtripped of their eſtates, and who had lately taken refuge in the court of England, had many partiſans in that part of the country.

He had nothing to expect from the factions and animoſities of the Engliſh barons, who were all well-affected to the preſent government; and inſtead of the weak, irreſolute, and inactive prince with whom he had hitherto contended, he had now to deal with one of the greateſt monarchs, and moſt conſummate generals of the age.

In theſe circumſtances it was ſurely the height of madneſs in Llewellyn, to provoke the indignation of Edward, by his late inſolent and arrogant behaviour, and thus to plunge himſelf into a war, which, inſtead of

of delivering him from his dependance upon the Engliſh crown, reduced him to a more wretched and abject condition than that in which he was already placed.

As Edward was reſolved to continue in Wales until he ſhould have reduced it to an entire ſubjection, he ordered the court of exchequer, and the juſtices of the bench, to be removed to Shrewſbury, that the adminiſtration of juſtice might not be interrupted while he ſhould be engaged in this expedition.

About Midſummer he entered Wales, on the ſide of Cheſhire, with a formidable army; and as Llewellyn placed his chief dependence upon his inacceſſible woods and faſtneſſes, he ordered a large road to be opened through a long tract of woods, from the frontiers of England as far as Caernarvonſhire, that his troops might proceed with the greater eaſe and expedition.

While the beſt part of his forces were employed in this laborious undertaking, he built the caſtles of Flint and Ruthland, to keep the neighbouring country in ſubjection; and then advanced to the mountains of Snowdun, among which the enemy had taken ſhelter.

There indeed they might have bid defiance to the whole power of England, could they have fallen upon any way of procuring ſupplies

ſupplies of proviſion; but Edward had taken care to cut them off from all reſources of that nature; and Llewellyn, reduced to the hard neceſſity of ſtarving or ſubmitting, was obliged to ſue for a peace, and agree to ſuch terms as the conqueror thought proper to impoſe: theſe were, that he ſhould pay fifty thouſand pounds to indemnify the king for the expences of the expedition; that he ſhould relinquiſh all claim to the cantreds of Ros, Ryuonioc, Tegengl, and Duffryn Clwyd, comprehending all the country from Cheſhire to the river Conway; that he ſhould hold the iſle of Angleſey, as a grant from Edward, to whom he ſhould pay an annual tribute of a thouſand marks; that all the Welch nobility ſhould do homage to the king of England, except the four barons of Snowdun, who were to continue vaſſals to Llewellyn; that he ſhould releaſe all the barons he had impriſoned, and do juſtice to to his brothers; that Llewellyn, with his council, and twenty men out of every cantred in his dominions, ſhould annually ſwear to the obſervance of theſe articles; that ten noblemen, of the firſt diſtinction, ſhould be given as hoſtages; and Llewellyn, as ſoon as he ſhould be abſolved from the cenſures of the church, ſhould do homage to Edward firſt at Ruthland, and afterwards at London.

This

This treaty, which was concluded at Aberconway, being ratified and confirmed, the king remitted the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, and Llewellyn accompanied him to Weſtminſter, where, on Chriſtmas-day he took the oath of allegiance, in preſence of the prelates and nobility of England.

Neglecting, however, to come to the next parliament, which was held at Glaſtonbury, where Edward cauſed Arthur's tomb to be opened, in order to view the remains of that illuſtrious hero, his deſigns began to be ſuſpected.* The king repaired to the Marches with a ſmall body of forces, and ſummoned Llewellyn to attend him at Worceſter. The Welch prince obeyed the order with great punctuality, and gave ſuch a full and ſatisfactory account of his conduct, that Edward reſtored the hoſtages, together with Eleanor de Montfort, whoſe nuptials with Llewellyn were ſolemnized on the thirteenth of October, with great pomp and magnificence.

This expedition was no ſooner finiſhed than Edward concluded a contract of marriage between his daughter Jane of Acra, and Harman, eldeſt ſon of Rodolphus king of the Romans, from whom the preſent houſe

* A. D. 1278.

houſe of Auſtria is deſcended; but that prince dying young, the nuptials were never conſummated.

A treaty of the ſame kind between his third daughter Margaret, and John, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lorrain and Brabant, was attended with better ſucceſs, the match being completed about twelve years after, when the young princeſs attained to the age of fifteen.

About the ſame time, Alexander III. king of Scotland, renewed his homage to Edward before the parliament at Weſtminſter, where he acknowledged himſelf the king's liege vaſſal, and Robert de Bruce earl of Warwick, took the oath of fealty in his name.

In the ſame parliament the ſtatute of Oxford, as it is called, and which was enacted during the expedition into Wales, was approved and confirmed; it was a collection of ſome excellent laws ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubjects, and providing for the better adminiſtration of juſtice; and to accompliſh this end the more effectually, the king ordained that none ſhould enjoy the office of ſheriff but ſuch as actually reſided within the particular ſhire which was ſubject to their juriſdiction.

As

As his coffers were now almoſt empty, he ſent orders to the ſheriffs for all thoſe who held of him by knights ſervice in capite, and were poſſeſſed of a fee of twenty pounds a year, to come and receive the honour of knighthood.

The coin of the kingdom had lately been debaſed by the wicked practice of clipping the coin, which had greatly enhanced the price of proviſions, and had a fatal effect upon foreign commerce. The Jews were generally ſuſpected of being guilty of this crime, and it ſoon appeared that theſe ſuſpicions were too well founded; for, great numbers of them being apprehended and brought to trial, they were convicted upon the cleareſt evidence, and condemned to death. No leſs than two hundred and eighty were executed in London, beſides thoſe that ſuffered in other parts of England: their houſes and effects were forfeited, and ſold for the uſe of the king, who aſſigned half the produce of the ſale for the maintenance of ſuch as ſhould be converted to Chriſtianity. Great quantities of clipped money were found in their houſes; and the fines paid by ſuch as eſcaped death, as well as by the goldſmiths, with whom they were concerned, amounted to a conſiderable ſum.*

Mean

* A. D. 1279.

Mean while, the county of Ponthieu devolved to the queen by the death of her mother Jane of Caſtile, which happened on the ſixteenth of March in the preceding year; and Edward going over to the Continent, concluded a treaty at Amiens with the king of France, for confirming that which had been made between their fathers when Henry relinquiſhed all claim to Normandy and Anjou.

Nevertheleſs, Edward reſerved the yearly rent of thirty pounds out of the revenues of Normandy, as a token of that dutchy's having once belonged to his anceſtors. Having ſettled that point, and given ſecurity to the French king for the payment of ſix thouſand livres, he received the inveſtiture of Ponthieu, together with the Agenois, and ſome lands in the Limoſin, Perigort, and Quercy, which ought to have been conſigned to him at the death of Alphonſo count of Poitiers. Then he went to Abbeville to receive the homage of his new vaſſals, and returned to England about Midſummer, to complete his plan of reformation.

Great complaints had been made of the prodigious wealth of the clergy, which daily encreaſed to the prejudice of individuals, and the detriment of the nation in general. The barons indeed had taken care to in-

ſert

ſert a clauſe in the Great Charter, expreſsly forbidding all perſons to alienate their lands to the church; but this article had been little regarded; and the evil was now grown to ſuch a height, that all the lands of the kingdom muſt neceſſarily have fallen into the hands of the clergy, if ſome method had not been found out to prevent ſuch a public calamity.

For this purpoſe the king convoked a parliament, to whom he explained his ſentiments on this ſubject; he obſerved that as the church neither died nor alienated, all their lands muſt in time be engroſſed by the clergy, unleſs ſome effectual remedy ſhould be deviſed for ſuch a public grievance. The propoſal was received with great joy, and the famous ſtatute of Mortmain was enacted, by which all perſons were ſtrictly forbid to diſpoſe of their effects to religious ſocieties without the conſent of the king or lords of the fiefs.

It was likewiſe decreed in the ſame aſſembly, that no perſon ſhould come to parliament in arms; and John Peckam, who, upon the promotion of Robert de Kilwarby to the dignity of a cardinal, had been appointed by the pope to the ſee of Canterbury, was ſummoned to anſwer for ſome canons he had made in

a ſynod at Reading, prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

In conſeqnence of this trial, he was ſharply reprimanded for his preſumption, and obliged not only to revoke the articles of which he was accuſed, but alſo to renounce all other conſtitutions that might encroach upon the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of the people.

This mortification of the primate gave great pleaſure to the archbiſhop of York, who had long been at variance with him about the trifling and inſignificant ceremony of carrying their croſs erect in each other's province; and Edward had the addreſs to improve their reſentment to his own advantage.

He now deſired them to uſe their influence with their reſpective clergy, in order to procure him a fifteenth of their revenues for the ſpace of three years. York was ſo well pleaſed with the king for puniſhing the inſolence of his rival, that he agreed to the propoſal immediately; and Canterbury was obliged to follow his example for fear of loſing the favour of Edward entirely.*

Among the many excellent regulations which Edward made for the good of the kingdom, he unhappily took one ſtep which

* A. D. 1280.

which might have occaſioned the moſt fatal conſequences. During the troubles of the two laſt reigns, ſeveral perſons had taken poſſeſſion of lands to which they had no juſt claim, and the crown had ſuffered by theſe appropriations.

In order to remedy this evil, the parliament, which met in the courſe of this year, paſſed an act obliging all land-holders to produce their title of charters before the proper judges. This ſtatute, from the Engliſh word warrant, was called Quo Warranto, and is properly a right to demand of any perſon by what title he holds his eſtate.

But however laudable this regulation might be in itſelf, the king was prompted either by his own avarice, or the ill advice of his courtiers, to apply it to a very bad purpoſe. He knew that among the infinite numbers that held lands of the crown, there muſt neceſſarily be many who had loſt their titles, and he ungeneroufly reſolved to take advantage of their misfortune, under pretence of putting the ſtatute of Quo Warranto in execution.

With this view he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all tenants of the crown to produce their titles before the judges of the realm; an order that was

juſtly conſidered as the ſource of great cruelty and oppreſſion.

Accordingly thoſe who were firſt examined, and could not produce their original titles, though they pleaded long poſſeſſion, were forced to pay large ſums to the king for the liberty of preſerving their eſtates. And, indeed, it is hard to ſay where this evil would have ſtopped, had it not been effectually ſuppreſſed by the courage and reſolution of the earl of Warenne, who being required to produce his title, drew an old ruſty ſword, and addreſſed the judges in the following terms: "By this ſword," ſaid he, "my anceſtors "who came in with William the Baſtard, "acquired their lands, and by the ſame "will I defend them to the laſt drop of "my blood: it was not for himſelf a-"lone that William conquered, nor was "it for him only that my anceſtors "fought."

This bold and ſenſible reply ſeemed likely to expoſe the earl to the reſentment and indignation of his majeſty; but it produced a very different effect. The king plainly perceived that the meaſure he was now purſuing, would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and that the barons were ſtill poſſeſſed of the ſame unconquerable ſpirit of independence which had

had ſhaken the throne of his father and grandfather. Influenced by this conſideration, he revoked the proclamation; and from the joy expreſſed by the people on this occaſion, it might be eaſily judged how deeply they had reſented the injury.

Mean while Llewellyn began to repent of the agreement he had made with Edward, and reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of recovering his independence: his ſubjects were ſtill more eager to renounce their allegiance to the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as their mortal enemies; but thinking it neceſſary to effect a reconciliation between their prince and his brother David, whom Edward had created earl of Derby, and indulged with the honour of Denbigh, an annuity of a thouſand marks, and the manor of Frodſham in Cheſhire, the Welch noblemen interpoſed their good offices for that purpoſe.

David, who had ſeveral cauſes of complaint againſt Edward, readily embraced the propoſal; and immediately taking the field with a ſtrong body of forces, ſurprized the caſtle of Hawarden, in which Roger de Clifford, the governour, was dangerouſly wounded, and carried off a priſoner to Snowdun.*

* A. D. 1281.

juſtly conſidered as the ſource of great cruelty and oppreſſion.

Accordingly thoſe who were firſt examined, and could not produce their original titles, though they pleaded long poſſeſſion, were forced to pay large ſums to the king for the liberty of preſerving their eſtates. And, indeed, it is hard to ſay where this evil would have ſtopped, had it not been effectually ſuppreſſed by the courage and reſolution of the earl of Warenne, who being required to produce his title, drew an old ruſty ſword, and addreſſed the judges in the following terms: "By this ſword," ſaid he, "my anceſtors "who came in with William the Baſtard, "acquired their lands, and by the ſame "will I defend them to the laſt drop of "my blood: it was not for himſelf a-"lone that William conquered, nor was "it for him only that my anceſtors "fought."

This bold and ſenſible reply ſeemed likely to expoſe the earl to the reſentment and indignation of his majeſty; but it produced a very different effect. The king plainly perceived that the meaſure he was now purſuing, would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and that the barons were ſtill poſſeſſed of the ſame unconquerable ſpirit of independence which had

had ſhaken the throne of his father and grandfather. Influenced by this conſideration, he revoked the proclamation; and from the joy expreſſed by the people on this occaſion, it might be eaſily judged how deeply they had reſented the injury.

Mean while Llewellyn began to repent of the agreement he had made with Edward, and reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of recovering his independence: his ſubjects were ſtill more eager to renounce their allegiance to the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as their mortal enemies; but thinking it neceſſary to effect a reconciliation between their prince and his brother David, whom Edward had created earl of Derby, and indulged with the honour of Denbigh, an annuity of a thouſand marks, and the manor of Frodſham in Cheſhire, the Welch noblemen interpoſed their good offices for that purpoſe.

David, who had ſeveral cauſes of complaint againſt Edward, readily embraced the propoſal; and immediately taking the field with a ſtrong body of forces, ſurprized the caſtle of Hawarden, in which Roger de Clifford, the governour, was dangerouſly wounded, and carried off a priſoner to Snowdun.*

* A. D. 1281.

This ſerved as a ſignal for a general inſurrection: the Welch aſſembled in infinite numbers, over-ran the Marches with incredible rapidity, committed terrible havock wherever they came, deſtroying all the country with fire and ſword, and Llewellyn and his brother inveſted the caſtle of Ruthland.

The king was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he ſummoned his nobility and military tenants to meet him at Worceſter by the enſuing Midſummer, and, in the mean time, removed his courts of juſtice from Weſtminſter to Shrewſbury. At length, having aſſembled a numerous army, he advanced againſt Llewellyn and his brother, who, at his firſt approach abandoned the ſiege of Ruthland, and retired into the mountains of Snowdun, whither it was impoſſible to purſue them, and he therefore allowed the archbiſhop of Canterbury to treat with them concerning the articles of a peace.

The primate expoſtulated with Llewellyn upon his having broken the late agreement; and the Welch prince returned an anſwer to the following effect: that he was obliged to take up arms in defence of his people, who were cruelly harraſſed and oppreſſed; but that he was ready to lay them down immediately, and live

live in perpetual amity and concord with England, provided Edward would agree to redreſs their grievances which, he ſaid, were many and intolerable.

He particularly obſerved, that the king had detained ſeveral lands betwixt the rivers Dyur and Dulus, and refuſed to give him ſatisfaction, unleſs he would ſuffer his cauſe to be tried by the laws of England in direct violation of the articles of the late treaty; that the lord Grey, when appointed juſtice, had proſecuted the Welch for ſome miſdemeanours committed in the late reign, and of which they had been acquitted by the act of indemnity paſſed at the laſt pacification; that Reſe ap Mayelon had been ſtripped of his lands and cattle, contrary to all the dictates of juſtice and equity; that many new cuſtoms had been introduced into the four cantreds held by his majeſty, notwithſtanding the ſolemn aſſurance he had given that nothing of that nature ſhauld be attempted; that the inhabitants of Angleſey were tried by the laws of England, in direct contradiction to the articles of the peace; that prince Llewellyn was forced to pay ſums of money to the queen and queen-mother, under the title of Aurum Reginæ, which was an intolerable grievance; that when his marriage was celebrated at Worceſter,

ceſter, the king had compelled him to ſign and confirm a writing, by which he engaged that he would never give ſhelter or protection to any perſon contrary to the pleaſure of Edward; a moſt unreaſonable article, which might deprive him of the aſſiſtance of his moſt faithful friends and ſervants; that the juſtices of Cheſter had levied a diſtreſs upon his goods, as an equivalent for the profits of a certain ſhipwreck, which he had ſeized in the courſe of the late war; that the king's officers inſtead of adminiſtering juſtice to the Welch with candour and impartiality, oppreſſed and impriſoned them out of mere wantonneſs and cruelty; and that the articles of the treaty in favour of himſelf and his ſubjects were never obſerved, but groſsly violated in almoſt every inſtance by the very perſons who were bound to ſee them executed.

David complained that he had been ſtripped of certain towns belonging to the cantreds, which had been conferred upon him as a reward for the many faithful and important ſervices he had performed to his majeſty; that he was forced to anſwer ſuits concerning Welch affairs in the king's court at Cheſter, contrary to the laws of the country; that the juſtice of Cheſter had deſtroyed his woods, oppreſſed

preſſed his tenants, ſubjected the Welch to an Engliſh juriſdiction, and haughtily rejected his remonſtrance, when he demanded reparation for theſe injuries; that he was threatened in the king's court with the loſs of his lands, cattle, and children; and that in order to prevent ſuch terrible calamities, he had been obliged to take up arms for his own ſafety and protection.

The archbiſhop, well knowing that many of theſe complaints were but too well founded, interpoſed his good offices in behalf of the Welch, and entreated that they might have free acceſs to the throne, and liberty to depart without moleſtation. Edward replied, that he was willing to do juſtice to all his ſubjects, that they might freely come and lay their complaints before him in perſon, and, at the ſame time, depart in ſafety, provided it ſhould appear they deſerved that favour.

Mean while he propoſed the following terms, which the archbiſhop tranſmitted to the Welch prince, by the hands of Joannes Wallenſis: the king will hearken to no treaty about the four cantreds, and the iſle of Angleſey; Llewellyn ſhall ſubmit at diſcretion, in which caſe his majeſty will give him a penſion of one thouſand pounds, with ſome county or earldom in England, and make an honourable proviſion for his daughter:

ter: the ſubjects of Llewellyn ſhall be treated according to their rank, and in whatever manner the king ſhall be pleaſed to order: if David, brother of Llewellyn, will agree to go to Paleſtine, he ſhall be maintained by the king according to his quality; but ſhall not preſume to return without the permiſſion of his majeſty.

The archbiſhop adviſed them to comply with theſe terms, as the only means of preſerving themſelves from utter ruin and deſtruction; adding, that, ſhould they be ſo imprudent as to reject them, he ſhould be obliged to ſubject them to the higheſt cenſures of the church.

Llewellyn replied, that he would chearfully agree to any reaſonable conditions; but the terms now offered, were utterly inconſiſtent with the ſafety of his perſon, the dignity of his ſtation, and the welfare of his ſubjects.

The Welch noblemen declared, that they would conſent to no terms of accommodation, unleſs Edward would agree to a treaty concerning the four cantreds and the iſle of Angleſey, the inhabitants of which were afraid of ſubmitting to the king's mercy, becauſe he had violated every oath, promiſe, and covenant, which he had made to the prince and his ſubjects; and his officers had

always

always oppreſſed the Welch with equal cruelty and injuſtice.

David told the archbiſhop, that when he ſhould be inclined to engage in a cruſade, he would go to Paleſtine voluntarily, and of his own accord; but that he would not be compelled to ſuch a ſtep, by any power on earth; that, as he had taken up arms in defence of his life and liberty, he depended upon the providence of God, who he hoped would protect them from the cruelty of the Engliſh, who, in the moſt impious and ſacrilegious manner, had deſtroyed their churches, profaned their ſacraments, butchered their prieſts at the altar, murdered their countrymen without diſtinction of ſex or age, and even ſtabbed the tender and innocent babes hanging at the breaſts of their mothers.

The archbiſhop had no ſooner received Llewellyn's anſwer, than he denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt that prince, and all his adherents; and, in the beginning of the year, Edward, at the head of a powerful army, invaded Wales, which he now reſolved to reduce to entire ſubjection. *

In this undertaking, however, he met with ſeveral obſtructions. He was worſted in divers petty rencounters, with the loſs of many

* A. D. 1282.

many of his principal nobility; and returning, in the autumn, to the caſtle of Ruthland, he iſſued writs for aſſembling two extraordinary councils, and as many ſynods, in order to concert more effectual meaſures for accompliſhing the enterprize in which he had embarked.

In the mean time, he advanced towards the iſle of Angleſey, with a ſtrong body of forces, and croſſed the river Conway on a bridge of boats; and his army being tranſported to the iſland by a fleet of the Cinque-Ports, the inhabitants ſubmitted without reſiſtance.

From thence he ordered another bridge of boats to be formnd acroſs the Menay, to the continent of Bangor; and, before the work was finiſhed, three hundred men at arms, under the conduct of lord William Latimer, and Lucas de Thony, went over to the other ſide of the river, to keep the enemy in play, and allow the bulk of the army to paſs the bridge without moleſtation.

But the tide flowing beyond the bridge, and ſwelling to ſuch a height as to prevent this detachment either from retreating or receiving any aſſiſtance, the Welch ruſhed down from the mountains with horrid yells, and attacked them with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that they were inſtantly routed, and either ſlain or drowned in the river.

No

No leſs than fifteen knights, two and thirty eſquires, and about a thouſand common ſoldiers, periſhed upon this occaſion; nor indeed was there a ſingle perſon of the detachment that ſurvived to carry back the news of their cataſtrophe, except lord William Latimer, who owed his life to the goodneſs of his horſe, which ſwam with him acroſs the river. The Engliſh were ſo diſpirited with this diſaſter, that they neither compleated the bridge, nor attempted any other enterprize in that part of the country.

The king's forces were more ſucceſsful in another quarter: the earl of Glouceſter defeated the inhabitants of South-Wales, tho' not without conſiderable loſs; and, after his retreat, Llewellyn waſted the ſhire of Cardigan, together with the lands belonging to Reſe ap Meredith, who ſided with the king againſt his own countrymen.

The prince of Wales, and his adherents, were ſo much elated by the advantage they had gained at the bridge, that they began to imagine heaven had declared in their favour; and that Llewellyn was the perſon, who, according to the prophecies of Merlin, was to be the reſtorer of Brute's empire in Britain; beſides, a ſoothſayer had foretold, that he ſhould ride through the ſtreets of London with a crown upon his head.

These predictions, however ridiculous they may appear in the present age, were held in great veneration in those times of ignorance and superstition; and the people, fully convinced of their truth, advised Llewellyn to commit the defence of Snowdun to the care of his brother David, and venture a pitched battle with the English.

Accordingly he advanced into Radnorshire, and, crossing the river, was met by a body of troops commanded by Edmund Mortimer and John Giffard: Llewellyn himself, attended by one esquire, had left the army, and gone to a small distance, to confer with some lords of his party; and while he was absent, the troops he had posted at the bridge of Orewyn, were attacked and routed by the English.

The prince, informed of this disaster, endeavoured to rejoin his army; but he was intercepted by a party of the English, and killed by Adam de Francton, who, without knowing who he was, run a spear through his heart; at last, however, recognizing his features, he cut off his head and carried it to the king, who then lay encamped at the abbey of Conway.

Thus fell Llewellyn, prince of Wales, in defence of the noblest and most glorious cause in which a man, or a prince, can die; in defending the liberty and independence

of

of his country. Had he ſurvived that fatal day, it is hard to ſay what might have been the conſequence.

He has been accuſed, by ſome hiſtorians, of inconſtancy and ingratitude; but with what ſhadow of juſtice, let the reader determine, after having peruſed the long liſt of grievances which he urged in excuſe for his hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and the little regard that was paid to his complaints.

Here ought every generous Briton to drop a tear over the ruins of a brave and heroic people, who for ſo many centuries maintained their freedom againſt all the efforts of the Engliſh monarchs. And, indeed, whether we conſider the length of the conteſt, the inequality of the forces, the motives that prompted the Engliſh to attack, or the principles that animated the Welch to reſiſt, we ſhall hardly find a ſimilar caſe in hiſtory.

The cauſe of the Welch, was the cauſe of liberty and independence, and therefore the common cauſe of mankind. Accurſed, therefore, be the partiality and injuſtice of thoſe hiſtorians, who, blinded by national prejudices, and dead to the finer feelings of humanity, refuſe to the memory of a brave and generous people, that tribute of praiſe

and commendation which their virtues ſo amply deſerve.

It will ever redound to the honour of the Welch, that, placed as they were, in the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances, they yet maintained their freedom for ſuch a length of time; and that, when they fell, they fell into a ſtate not of ſlavery, but of dependance; and into ſuch a ſtate of dependance, as ſeems rather to be the reſult of an union than a conqueſt.

Had Edward conſidered the matter in this light, he would never have treated the remains of Llewellyn with that cruelty and barbarity with which he uſed them.

He ſent his head immediately to London, where it was received with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy; and the citizens carried it through Cheapſide, erected upon the point of a ſpear, and adorned with a ſilver circlet or crown, as a burleſque accompliſhment of the ſoothſayer's prediction: then it was placed in the pillory, to glut the revenge of the brutiſh rabble, to ſhock the delicacy of every perſon of ſentiment, to move the compaſſion of the humane and generous, and to fill every thoughtful and conſiderate mind, with ſerious reflections upon the inſtability of all earthly grandeur; and, laſt of all, it was crowned with a chaplet of ivy, and expoſed upon the moſt

moſt conſpicuous part of the Tower of London.

Such a mean and unmanly triumph over the body of a brave prince, will brand the name of the conqueror with an eternal mark of infamy; and the great rejoicings that were made at his death, compoſe the higheſt encomiums upon his memory.

The Welch were ſo diſheartened by the death of their prince, that they fled before the forces of Edward, who, having compleated the bridge over the river Menay, advanced as far as Snowdun, the caſtle of which place, with ſeveral other fortreſſes, was preſently reduced.

David, who, upon the death of his brother, aſſumed the title of prince, attempted to renew the war and recover the principality; but the ſame ſuperſtition which had formerly inſpired his men with courage, now filled them with deſpair; they either abandoned his cauſe, or followed him with reluctance; ſo that they were eaſily routed; and David, being utterly deſerted, was forced to conceal himſelf from the purſuit of the enemy.

At laſt one of his own countrymen, who ſerved the king as a ſpy, diſcovered the place of his retreat, where he was taken, and

conveyed to Edward at Ruthland-caſtle.* He earneſtly entreated he might have the liberty of ſpeaking to the king; but this favour he could not obtain.

Edward ordered him to be removed to Cheſter-caſtle; and, in the mean time, ſummoned the lords and commons to Shrewſbury, where the priſoner was tried and condemned as a traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; a ſentence which was executed with ſuch cruelty and barbarity, as would not only diſgrace the moſt ſavage nation that ever exiſted, but is even a ſevere ſatire upon human nature. His bowels were burned, his body was quartered and expoſed in the chief cities of the kingdom, and his head was placed upon the Tower, by that of his brother Llewellyn.

The Welch now made no further reſiſtance: Reſe ap Vaughan, a nobleman of South-Wales, and all his followers, ſurrendered themſelves to the earl of Hereford, and were impriſoned in the Tower of London. Edward erected two ſtrong forts at Aberconway and Caernarvon; the whole principality acknowledged ſubjection to the crown, and received the laws of England: he then made a progreſs through the country,

* A. D. 1283.

try, and parcelled out the greateſt part of the conquered lands among the barons.

In the parliament, which was convoked at Acton-Burnel, he obtained a conſiderable ſubſidy to defray the expences of this expedition, and in the ſame aſſembly was enacted the ſtatute known by the name of that place, enabling merchants to recover their debts by recognizances in the three great cities of London, York, and Briſtol; but the ordinances for incorporating Wales with England, were made at Ruthland, where the king had reſided during the whole courſe of the war. North-Wales was divided into counties, and ſheriffs and other officers were appointed, of the ſame nature with thoſe in England; but the Welch were not to be ſued for debts, except in their own country.

Edward erected Ruthland, Caernarvon, Aberyſtwyth, and other towns, into corporations, and granted them large privileges, in order to encourage and promote trade, and allure the Welch to quit their mountains, and engage them in a more ſociable way of living. He iſſued a proclamation, offering peace and ſecurity to all ſuch as would put themſelves under his protection.

He confirmed every perſon in the poſſeſſion of their lands and liberties; but with regard

regard to the bards, who animated their countrymen to deeds of glory, by rehearſing the noble atchievements of their anceſtors, he cauſed them all to be cruelly murdered; a ſtriking proof that Edward never allowed the dictates of humanity, or his love for the polite arts, to interfere with the promotion of his own intereſt.*

But all theſe expedients, were not ſufficient to reconcile the Welch to the Engliſh government; they could not bear the thoughts of being ſubject to a foreign prince, and having their ancient laws and cuſtoms aboliſhed, to make room for new reglations which they did not underſtand, impoſed upon them by a people whom they conſidered as their mortal enemies.

In order to remove theſe complaints, Edward left his queen to be delivered in the caſtle of Caernarvon; and ſhe was no ſooner brought to bed, than he preſented the young prince, who was called Edward, to the Welch lords, as a native of their country, who could not ſpeak a word of Engliſh.

Trifling as this circumſtance may ſeem, it might have had a conſiderable influence on the Welch, who, beyond all the people in the world, were attached to their own cuſtoms. They regarded the young prince as a native of Snowdun, who would rule them

* A. D. 1285.

EDWARD *first* **PRINCE** *of* **WALES**
born at Carnarvan Castle.

Hulett Sculp

Engraved for Riders History of England

BRITISH
MUSEUM

them by their own laws, and as a distinct people from the English, as the king's eldest Alphonso was still alive; but all their hopes were soon blasted by the death of this last, in consequence of which Edward became heir apparent to the crown of England.

The king, however, in order to impress them with a high notion of his wealth and magnificence, held a grand tournament at Neuyn in Caernarvonshire, to which an immense number of knights resorted from all countries, among whom he distributed many marks of royal munificence.

Having thus settled the affairs of Wales in the best manner the circumstances of the times would admit, he went to Bristol, and restored to the citizens their charter which they had forfeited by encroaching upon the rights of the constable of the castle. About this period he was importuned by the king of France to join him in a war against Peter king of Arragon, whom the pope had excommunicated, and, as far as the censures of the church would extend, deprived of his dominions, which he had granted to Charles count of Valois, younger son of Philip the Hardy.

Philip accepted the pope's offer in the name of his son, and resolved, if possible,

ble, to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, the title to which his holineſs had ſo liberally given him. Accordingly, he not only ſolicited Edward to aſſiſt him in this undertaking, but even ſummoned him as duke of Guienne.

The king of England was far from acknowledging the authority of the pope to depoſe princes; he had hitherto cultivated a good underſtanding with Peter, and even formed an alliance with him by agreeing to a match between their children; beſides, he was ſenſible that ſhould Arragon fall into the hands of the French, the poſſeſſion of Guienne would be very precarious.

He therefore refuſed to engage in the enterprize, but as Philip entreated him to favour him with a conference, he promiſed to indulge him in that particular, and had actually proceeded as far as Canterbury in his way to France, when, hearing of his mother's illneſs, he returned to Ambreſbury. From thence he ſent an apology to Philip, who afterwards renewed his importunities; but he could never prevail upon Edward to undertake the voyage.

The king, upon his mother's recovery, repaired to St. Edmundſbury, where he paſſed the Lent in devotion, and then returned

turned to London, which he entered in triumph; but the citizens had no great cauſe to rejoice at his arrival, for he ſtripped them of their charter and mayor, and appointed a guardian, who continued to govern them for ten years ſucceſſively. This ſtep he is ſaid to have taken becauſe the mayor had connived at the fraud of certain bakers, who ſold their bread below the regular weight; but this ſurely was no more than a meer pretence; the true reaſon ſeems to have been the irreconcileable hatred he always bore to the city, on account of its attachment to the diſcontented barons, and the inſults it had offered to his mother.

Immediately after Eaſter he convoked a parliament at Weſtminſter, where ſome ancient charters were exemplified and confirmed, and the ſtatute of Weſtminſter I. with ſome others, was tranſmitted into Ireland, and ordered to be obſerved in that kingdom. At the next meeting, about a fortnight after Midſummer, ſeveral proviſions were made to enforce the ſtatute of Glouceſter; amend and confirm ſuch laws as had lain dormant during the late commotions; prevent the alienation of lands belonging to monaſteries; and to correct various abuſes, particularly ſpecified in thoſe regulations, which are known by the

the name of the Statute of Weſtminſter II. To this aſſembly is commonly aſcribed the ſtatute called Circumſpecte Agatis, for preventing all interferences between the eccleſiaſtical and civil juriſdictions.

In another parliament, held at Wincheſter in the beginning of October, the ſtatute of Winton was enacted for ſuppreſſing robbers, and preventing depredations, by cutting down woods that ſheltered banditti, and leaving no trees nor hedges within two hundred feet of the highway; and reviving ſome ancient cuſtoms relating to watch and ward, hue and cry, ſtrangers, lodgers, and the views of armour.

While Edward was thus employed in regulating the internal police of the realm, Philip king of France aſſembled a numerous army amounting to no leſs than one hundred thouſand men, and entering Rouſſillon early in the ſpring, reduced Perpignan and Elna without oppoſition. Peter king of Arragon, unable to contend with ſuch a powerful antagoniſt in the field, kept on the defenſive, by guarding the paſſes of the country, and endeavouring to intercept the convoys of the enemy.

Philip had foreſeen the difficulties he ſhould have to encounter, and in order to prevent

prevent them, as much as poſſible, had equipped a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips to ſail along the coaſt, and ſupply him with proviſions. Gironne was the firſt place that dared to check the progreſs of the conqueror: it was inveſted in the latter end of June, but was ſo gallantly defended by Raimond de Cardona, that it was not taken till the beginning of September, when famine compelled the garriſon to ſubmit.*

The French ſuffered conſiderably in the ſiege of this place, which was at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that they could not receive any ſupplies of proviſion from their fleet, which rode at anchor in the Bay of Roſes. This fleet being divided into two ſquadrons, one of them was attacked at ſea by Marquet the admiral of Arragon, who took thirty of their gallies, while the other was ſurprized and deſtroyed by Doria, who commanded the other diviſion of the Arragonian fleet.

As it was impoſſible for the French to ſubſiſt any longer in Catalonia, and Philip himſelf was ſeized with a dyſentery, he retreated to Rouſſillon, and died at Monteſquiou, after having loſt a great number of men in

* A. D. 1286.

this expedition, during which he was continually harraſſed by the king of Arragon, who narrowly watched his motions, and cut off his detached parties.

Peter, however, did not long ſurvive his enemy; for he died in the enſuing November, and was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Arragon by his eldeſt ſon Alphonſo, and by a younger, named James, in that of Sicily.

When Philip the Fair ſucceeded his father on the throne, he found himſelf engaged in a war both with Arragon and Caſtile; he was only in the eighteenth year of his age, and being deſirous of poſſeſſing in quiet the kingdom of Navarre, which he enjoyed in right of his wife, he had recourſe to the king of England, intreating him to uſe his influence with theſe two potentates to whom he was nearly allied, in order to effect an accommodation.

Edward accepted the friendly office, and propoſed terms of peace to both the kings, in conſequence of which, conferences were immediately opened; and the king having ſettled the affairs of the nation, in a parliament aſſembled for that purpoſe, and committed the guardianſhip of the kingdom to his couſin Edmund earl of Cornwall,

wall, he ſet out for Paris about the middle of May.

By his mediation a truce was concluded between the contending princes; and Philip, to reward him for his good offices, gave him an exemption for life from all penalty of forfeiture, on account of appeals from himſelf or his miniſters to the court of the French king, to whom he now did homage for the lands he held in that kingdom.

After having concluded a new treaty, in confirmation of the laſt which had been made at Amiens, he repaired into Guienne, where he ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to enact ſome wholeſome laws for the good of a country, which had diſcovered ſuch uncommon zeal for his ſervice in their liberal contributions both of troops and money towards the conqueſt of Wales.

During his abode in Guienne, he was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, and made a vow to engage in a new cruſade, provided his health ſhould be reſtored; and indeed, he no ſooner recovered, than he took the croſs, though without fixing upon any particular time for ſetting out on the expedition.

Perhaps he imagined that heaven would be as well pleased with a persecution of the Jews in Guienne, whom he first plundered of considerable sums of money, and then expelled the Province.*

As he was informed that the regulations of the statutes of Winton were utterly neglected; that the roads were still infested with robbers; and that these and many other grievances were owing to the exemptions claimed by the barons, who interrupted the course of justice, and would not suffer criminals to be pursued through their territories; he appointed a new kind of justiciaries immediately dependent on himself, and empowered to exercise their authority in every part of the kingdom to which their commissions extended.

These commissions were granted to certain knights in every county of England, in order to preserve the peace, and see the statute of Winton executed with the greater punctuality; and the sheriffs were commanded to assist with the posse, if necessary, in the execution of their orders and warrants. Such was the original of the justices of the peace, so denominated from the design of their institution.

While

* A. D. 1287.

While Edward was thus providing for the tranquillity of England, a rebellion was raiſed by Reſe Meredith, a powerful noblemen of South-wales, who had aſſiſted the king in the late war againſt his countrymen. He had received from Edward the honour of knighthood, together with the promiſe of certain lands and manors as a reward for his ſervices.

This promiſe had never been performed, and Reſe of courſe became a malecontent; however, he did not diſcover his reſentment until he was ſummoned to the king's court by Payne Tiptoft, warden of the caſtles in that part of the country. Meredith was incenſed at this ſummons, which he ſaid was contrary to the ancient privilege he had always enjoyed, and the king had promiſed to confirm: a quarrel immediately enſued, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were fought to the great diſturbance of the neighbourhood.

Edward, hearing of this commotion, wrote a letter to Reſe, enjoining him to keep the peace till his return, when he ſhould obtain a redreſs of all his grievances; but, inſtead of complying with this injunction, he took the caſtles of Dynevour and Llanandovery, and reduced ſeveral towns to aſhes.

In order to ſuppreſs this inſurrection, the earl of Cornwall ſummoned the military tenants of the crown to meet him at Glouceſter, and entering Wales, made himſelf maſter of Droſtan, the ſtrongeſt caſtle belonging to Reſe, who retired into the woods and faſtneſſes, from whence he ſallied forth upon the detached parties of the Engliſh, whom he ſurprized and cut off, ſo that Cornwall, unable to bring him to a pitched battle, and finding his army daily diminiſh, was forced to conclude a truce, and return to England.

But he was no ſooner gone, then Meredith renewed hoſtilities, and continued his depredations, until Robert Tiptoft, juſticiary of Wales, having aſſembled a body of forces, defeated the Welch noblemen, and then ſet a price upon his head, in conſequence of which he was obliged to fly into Ireland, where he reſided upon the eſtate of the earl of Glouceſter, who was ſuppoſed to have favoured his inſurrection.

After having remained about four years in Ireland, he returned to Wales, where he was diſcovered and ſeized; then he was removed to Berwick, where he was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

Mean

Mean while the king, who ſtill remained on the Continent, was exerting his utmoſt efforts, in order to effect an accommodation between the king of Arragon, and Charles prince of Salerno, who had been taken priſoner by Doria the Arragonian admiral.

At length he ſucceeded ſo far, that Alphonſo agreed to releaſe Charles, on condition he would renounce all claim to Sicily, Rhegio, and the tribute of Tunis, and procure a revocation of all the ſteps which the court of Rome had taken to the prejudice of the houſe of Arragon, particularly the grant of that kingdom to Charles de Valois.

This treaty was to be cemented by intermarriages between their children, and Charles was not to be ſet at liberty till every article of the agreement was fully executed. But the whole convention was condemned, and declared null, by pope Honorius IV. who died this year, on the third day of April. The pontiff hoped that Sicily would be recovered by the count d'Artois, who had equipped a powerful armament for an invaſion of that iſland; but this attempt was entirely defeated by the bravery of Doria, who ſurpriſed and took the greateſt part of the count's fleet; ſo that his forces were obliged

obliged to retire, with considerable loss, to Italy.

The see of Rome, after having remained vacant for a year, was filled with Nicholas V. who entreated the king of England to procure the release of Charles, before the execution of the treaty.*

Edward was willing to gratify his holiness, and accordingly proposed that Charles should obtain his liberty, upon giving his own three sons, and those of forty noblemen of Provence, as hostages; together with security for seventy thousand marks, and the delivery of Provence; all which were to be forfeited, in case he should neglect either to perform the articles of the treaty, or return within three years to his confinement at Arragon.

Edward, not satisfied with having proposed this agreement, was even so desirous of reconciling the parties, that he actually took a journey to Jacca in Arragon, in order to forward the negociation; and the treaty being at last concluded, Charles was set at liberty.

But it soon appeared how little princes are disposed to observe those oaths which they take in captivity. He no sooner arrived in Italy than he was absolved of his oath

* A. D. 1288.

oath by the pope, and crowned king of the two Sicilies, which he endeavoured to conquer by force of arms, contrary to the articles of agreement.

He was ſummoned to return to his priſon in Arragon; but, inſtead of obeying this order, he advanced to the frontiers of that kingdom at the head of an army, in order to evade his promiſe; nor indeed did he perform a ſingle article of the convention till about three years after, when another treaty was concluded with the conſent of the pope, on condition that Alphonſo ſhould not aſſiſt his brother James, king of Sicily; and then Charles renounced all claim to the kingdom of Arragon.

But the prince of Salerno derived no advantage from this agreement; Alphonſo died ſoon after, juſt when he was about to marry Eleanor, the daughter of Edward; and his brother James ſucceeding him on the throne of Arragon, and at the ſame time retaining poſſeſſion of Sicily, was thus enabled, by the ſtrength of both theſe kingdoms, to baffle all the attempts which Charles made for the recovery of Sicily.

Edward had now been abroad about three years, during which he had expended conſiderable ſums of money; and his coffers being almoſt empty, he ſent orders to the biſhop

biſhop of Ely, his treaſurer, to demand a ſubſidy. For this purpoſe a parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, where the prelate acquainted them with the king's pleaſure.

But the nobility, who were greatly diſſatisfied with the king's long abſence, and the little regard he had lately ſhewn for the welfare of England, were extremely averſe to the meaſure; and the earl of Glouceſter declared, in the name of the reſt, that they would grant no ſubſidy until Edward ſhould return to his own dominions; ſo that the treaſurer was obliged to ſupply the king's neceſſities for the preſent, by impoſing a talliage upon all the cities, towns, and manors of the crown demeſnes.*

Edward, alarmed at this refuſal, thought it high time to return to England, and, embarking immediately, he landed at Dover on the twelfth day of Auguſt.

The nation, during his abſence, had been involved in great confuſion, chiefly by the injuſtice and oppreſſion of the judges and officers of the crown, while bands of armed robbers roved up and down the country, plundering the defenceleſs peaſants, and ſetting the laws at defiance.

In

* A. D. 1289.

In order to remedy these evils, he ordered proclamation to be made in the cities and market-towns of every county, that all who had suffered by the fraud and extortion of the judges and other officers, should come and exhibit their complaints in the next parliament, which was summoned to meet immediately after Martinmas. In consequence of this invitation, so great a number of plaintiffs appeared, that all the judges, except two,* were convicted, upon the clearest evidence, of bribery and corruption; their estates were confiscated, and their places supplied with men of greater integrity and honour.

Having thus redressed the grievances of the people, he enacted some laws for the advantage of the nobility, in two parliaments assembled after the feasts of St. Hilary and Easter: these regulations were contained in the statute of Westminster III. and secured to lords paramount, their rights in the marriages, wardships, and escheats of their vassals, of which they had been deprived by the practice of feoffments. He likewise passed the Quo Warranto, establishing

* The names of these two, which surely deserve to be mentioned with honour, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Beckingham, both ecclesiastics. *Chron. Dunstaple.*

ing all the liberties which had been allowed in the preceding reign, enjoyed from time immemorial, or expreſsly contained in the charters.*

At the ſame time he regulated the manner of levying fines; and either to humour the prejudices of the people, to ſatisfy the ſcruples of his own conſcience, or, what is moſt probable, to fill his coffers with money, he publiſhed a proclamation for baniſhing the Jews from the kingdom for ever.

They were ſtill more odious to the Engliſh on account of their uſury and extortion, than of the particularities of their religion; they were ordered to depart the kingdom, on pain of death, before the firſt day of November; and, in the mean time, all their effects were confiſcated for the uſe of his majeſty, except as much money as would defray the expence of their voyage to the Continent.

The king granted them a ſafe-conduct; but, notwithſtanding that protection, they were ſtripped by the ſeamen of the Cinque-Ports, of the ſmall ſums that were left them; and of fifteen thouſand, who now quitted the kingdom, ſeveral hundreds were cruelly drowned by the maſters of the veſſels in

* A. D. 1290.

in which they were embarked; though Edward took care to punish the perpetrators of this horrid and detestable crime, in the most severe and exemplary manner.

The clergy were so highly satisfied with the banishment of these enemies of the Christian faith, that they indulged the king with a tenth of their benefices, and even joined with the nobility in granting him a fifteenth of their temporalities, to make some amends for the loss he sustained by the exile of the Jews, who, in all cases of extreme necessity, were a never-failing source of supply.

About this time Edward bestowed his daughter Jane upon the earl of Gloucester, after that nobleman had sworn to maintain the lineal succession of the crown of England. In the month of July following, his other daughter, Beatrix, was marrid to the eldest son of John duke of Brabant; but the joy occasioned by both these alliances, was soon destroyed by the death of queen Eleanor, which happened on the twenty-eighth of November, near Grantham in Lincolnshire.

When Edward took the cross in Guienne, the pope's legate immediately declared him general of the crusade; but he was resolved not to begin his voyage until he

ſhould have eſtabliſhed a fund ſufficient to defray the expences of ſuch a great and important undertaking.

For this purpoſe he demanded the tenths of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, for the ſpace of twelve years, together with all the charitable contributions that ſhould be made during that period, by his own ſubjects, for the relief of Paleſtine, as well as a moiety of what ſhould be levied in the dominions of other princes, who had not engaged perſonally in the cruſade. He had made this propoſal to ſeveral ſucceſſive popes, who had given him nothing but evaſive and unſatisfactory anſwers; till, at length, Tripoli being taken by the ſoldan of Babylon, and the Holy Land in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt, Nicholas V. granted the ſubſtance of his demand; fixed the time of the general embarkation, to Midſummer 1293; and iſſued orders for levying the tenths of the ſecond ſix years in England.

With this view he directed the commiſſioners to make a new valuation of all benefices, which was afterwards generally followed, and was called the taxation of pope Nicholas, in contradiſtinction to the taxation of Norwich, which had prevailed till this period, and was conſiderably lower.

Edward,

Edward, accepting the offer of his holineſs, declared his reſolution of beginning his voyage at the time appointed; but, before that arrived, the Saracens had reduced Acra, and made an entire conqueſt of Paleſtine; events which put an end, for a time, to all thoſe romantic projects of religious phrenzy and ſuperſtition, which had drained the ſtates of Chriſtendom of ſo much blood and treaſure.

But, had the affairs of Paleſtine been in a more proſperous ſituation, it is hardly probable that Edward would have been able to perform his vow, as his whole attention was now engroſſed by the troubles of Scotland, in which he was more deeply concerned.

Alexander III. king of Scotland, had by his wife Margaret, king Edward's ſiſter, two ſons, Alexander and David, and one daughter, Margaret, married to Eric king of Norway. Both his ſons died before him, as did likewiſe the queen of Norway, leaving behind her an only daughter, named after her mother, and commonly called the maid of Norway.

Alexander being killed by a fall from his horſe, on the eighteeth of March 1285. his grand-daughter was acknowledged heireſs of the crown of Scotland, in a full parlia-

ment of that kingdom, who proclaimed her acceſſion, and appointed guardians of the realm during her abſence.

Edward reſolved to effect an union of England and Scotland, by means of a marriage between his ſon and this princeſs, which was very acceptable to Eric, and readily approved by the guardians of Scotland, in a treaty at Saliſbury, where it was agreed between the king of England, Eric of Norway, and the Scottiſh ambaſſadors, that Margaret ſhould be ſent into Scotland, upon the guardians giving ſecurity that they would not diſpoſe of her in marriage, without the conſent of her father and great uncle.

Prince Edward being related to Margaret within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, there was an abſolute neceſſity for procuring a diſpenſation from the pope, who was eaſily perſuaded to grant that favour, upon receiving the arrears of the tribute due by England, which now amounted to the ſum of ſix thouſand marks.

The guardians and parliament of Scotland being informed of this circumſtance, wrote letters to Edward, congratulating him upon the removal of this obſtruction, expreſſing their earneſt deſire of ſeeing the marriage accompliſhed, and ſignifying their reſolu-

reſolution of ſending deputies to the Engliſh parliament, to give their conſent in form, and to concert the proper meaſures for conducting the negociation. At the ſame time they wrote to the king of Norway, deſiring him to ſend his daughter to England, with all poſſible diſpatch.

Anthony Bek biſhop of Durham, the earls of Warenne and Lincoln, with W. de Veſcy and the dean of York, were appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Scottiſh deputies; and the treaty of marriage was concluded on the following terms; that Scotland ſhall for ever enjoy all its ancient rights, liberties, laws, and cuſtoms, and the crown revert to the next heir free and independent, in caſe Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue: that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould remain ſeparate from that of England, by its former limits and boundaries: that the chapters of cathedral, collegiate and conventual churches, ſhould enjoy the freedom of election, without being obliged to go out of the kingdom to aſk conges d'elire, preſent their elect, or take an oath of fealty to the king of Scotland: that the natives of that country ſhould not be ſued, or obliged to anſwer to any charge out of the kingdom: that all rolls, charters, privileges, and muniments, ſhould be kept

under the ſeals of the nobility: that the late king's ſeal ſhould be uſed till the arrival of the queen, when a new ſeal ſhould be made, and delivered into the hands of the chancellor, who, as well as the judges and other officers, ſhould be always Scotchmen, and reſiding in the kingdom: that all writs iſſued out of the chancery, ſhould be according to the uſual courſe of the king's chapel, and the realm of Scotland: that no alienation or alteration of any thing belonging to the royal dignity, ſhould be made before the queen's arrival: that the heirs of the nobility in ward of the crown, ſhould not be married to their diſparagement: that no parliament for the affairs of the nation, ſhould be held without the Marches of Scotland: and that no talliages, tolls, or taxes, ſhould be impoſed upon the Scots, but what were agreeable to the ancient cuſtom of their kings, and for the common buſineſs of the kingdom.

Theſe articles being ratified, the biſhop of Durham was appointed the queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottiſh commiſſioners, with the earl of Warenne and the dean of York, embarked for Norway, to ſettle every thing relating to the marriage.

Prince

Prince Edward nominated the earl of Warenne his proxy, to contract the marriage in his behalf with the young queen; and the Scottiſh deputies engaged, that as ſoon as Margaret ſhould arrive, either in England or Scotland, they would deliver all the caſtles and forts of the kingdom to her and prince Edward, and obey them as their ſovereigns in every thing relating to that kingdom. The two nations ſeemed very well diſpoſed for an union at this period, after having lived in the moſt perfect amity and concord for upwards of an hundred years; and this marriage would, in all probability, have produced an entire incorporation, had not this coalition, which would have been ſo much for the advantage of both people, been unhappily prevented by the untimely end of Margaret, who died before the commiſſioners arrived in Norway.

The death of this princeſs occaſioned a diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the throne of Scotland, which reduced that country to the very brink of ruin, and was even attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences to the happineſs and welfare of England.*

There were no leſs than twelve competitors for the crown of Scotland, and the nation

* A. D. 1291.

tion was ſplit into as many parties for ſupporting their different pretenſions: the guardians would not venture to determine a point of ſo much importance; the nobility in parliament were divided in their ſentiments; and a deciſion of the diſpute by a majority of voices would have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences, as the diſappointed competitors would certainly have involved the kingdom in all the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

In theſe circumſtances, it was unanimouſly agreed by the claimants as well as by the whole body of the nobility, to refer the matter to the determination of the king of England; and William de Fraſer, biſhop of St. Andrew's, with ſome other deputies, were ſent to deſire that prince to accept the office of arbitrator.

Edward embraced the offer with ſo much the greater alacrity, as it furniſhed him with a pretext of acquiring a right of ſuperiority over the kingdom of Scotland; a project, which, in all likelihood, he would have endeavoured to execute, even though this opportunity had never occurred.

However, as he meant to eſtabliſh this right rather by the arts of policy and addreſs, than by force of arms, he took care to collect together all the arguments that could

could possibly be urged in support of such a pretension. He endvoured to prove from ancient chronicles and records, that the kings of Scotland had been dependent on the English monarchs from time immemorial, and accordingly had always done them homage, except when they had taken advantage of the intestine commotions of the nation, or the reign of a weak prince, to withdraw their allegiance.

The Scots acknowledged that their kings were indeed wont to do homage to the English monarchs; but then it was only for lands in Cumberland and other parts of England, which they held by the same tenure as the English kings possessed the provinces of Normandy and Guienne on the Continent; but with regard to the kingdom of Scotland, they positively affirmed, that it was always free and independent; for as to the absolute submission extorted from William during his captivity, it was merely an act of compulsion, and besides was relinquished in the most solemn manner, by Richard Cœur de Lion.

But the truth is, both parties, either blinded by ignorance, or influenced by prejudice, have fallen into a gross error: the English lay claim to a superiority o-

ver

ver the whole kingdom of Scotland, when, in fact, that ſuperiority only extended over part of it; and the Scots affirm, that the homage paid by their king, was only for the county of Cumberland, whereas, in reality, it was for the Cumbrian kingdom, otherwiſe called Valencia, comprehending Carrick, Renfrew, and Galloway.

This country, poſſeſſed formerly by the Britons, was entirely ſubdued by Edmund, who gave it to Malcolm I. king of Scotland, to be held as a fief of the crown of England, by the ſervice of guarding the Northumbrian territories from the enemy: upon the death of Edmund, Malcolm renewed his oath of fealty to Edred, who ſucceeded on the Engliſh throne: Edinburgh was granted by Edgar to Indulf, king of Scotland; and to this was afterwards added Lothian, including the country between the Tweed and the Forth, which Kenneth III. received upon the terms of homage and vaſſalage to the crown of England, and with this expreſs proviſo, that the cuſtoms and language of the inhabitants ſhould be carefully preſerved.

While the father did homage for the county of Lothian, his ſon Malcolm ſwore fealty for the Cumbrian principality, as heir

heir apparent to the throne of Scotland: Duncan, grandſon to Malcolm II. made the ſame ſubmiſſion to Canute, and Malcolm III. during the uſurpation of Macbeth, found a ſafe retreat in the Cumbrian kingdom. There too Fleance took refuge after the murder of his father Banquo; and marrying the daughter of the chief of theſe Britiſh reguli, tranſmitted the inheritance of Galloway to his poſterity, and upon this footing ſtood the point of homage at the time of the conqueſt.

When William the Conqueror aſcended the throne of England, he laid claim to all the rights that had ever been enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors, and accordingly obliged Malcolm to do him homage, though he did not poſſeſs one acre of land in England; this ſubmiſſion therefore muſt have been for the country of Lothian, the grant of which was now confirmed to him by William.

He afterwards renewed his fealty to William Rufus, and his ſucceſſor Edgar, in a charter to the church of Durham, acknowledged that he enjoyed the county of Lothian by the grant of his lord William king of England.

David I. attended as a peer or vaſſal of England, at the courts and councils of his

his brother-in-law Henry I. and ſwore to maintain the ſucceſſion of Maude the empreſs: Malcolm IV. paid homage to Henry II. with a clauſe ſaving his royal dignity; and the ſame ſubmiſſion was made by his brother and ſucceſſor William, at a time when he was poſſeſſed of no lands in England.

We have already taken notice of his captivity and the ſubmiſſion extorted from him by the conqueror, of whom he agreed to hold the kingdom of Scotland, and all his other territories, by liege homage and fealty; but from this convention, though ratified by the parliament of Scotland, he was afterwards releaſed by Richard, who conſented to receive his homage in the ſame manner in which it had been paid by his predeceſſour Malcolm.

Upon the acceſſion of John, he ſwore fealty to that prince, with the ſaving clauſe, and the ſame reſervation was made in the homage done by his ſucceſſour Alexander II. to Henry III. at Northampton. When Alexander III. came to York, accompanied by his mother, and a numerous train of the Scottiſh nobility, to ſolemnize his nuptials with the daughter of Henry, he was required by his father-

father-in-law to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but he alledged, he could not take a ſtep of ſo much importance without the advice and conſent of his parliament; and Henry agreed to receive it for Lothian and the other territories which he held of the crown of England.

From this hiſtorical account it plainly appears, that the kings of Scotland, properly ſo called, were free and independent, and enjoyed their ancient dominions in their own right without fealty or vaſſalage; but that they derived the poſſeſſion of Lothian as well as the Cumbrian kingdom of Strathcluyd from the grants of Engliſh monarchs, on condition of doing homage, and performing ſervice for theſe territories.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that Edward was very well acquainted with all theſe particulars, as he had been at great pains to examine into the merits of the cauſe; though his hopes of ſucceſs were chiefly founded upon that influence which he derived from his character of arbitrator.

But whatever were his own private ſentiments with regard to the juſtice of his claim, it may be ſafely affirmed, that he had formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing his ſuperiority over the kingdom of Scotland.

With this view, he convened the competitors and nobility of Scotland at Norham on the river Tweed, where the conferences were immediately begun, and in a general assembly, which met on the tenth of May in the parish-church, Roger de Brabançon acquainted the claimants and the Scottish prelates and nobility, that Edward was come to appease the troubles of their nation; to do justice between man and man; and to determine the dispute concerning the succession to the crown, in virtue of his own right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, which he now required them to acknowledge.

They were greatly startled at this intimation; but encompassed, as they were, with a strong body of forces, they durst not venture to declare their sentiments. However, they assured him that they could not presume to take a step of so much importance without the concurrence of the prelates and nobility who were absent, and whom they therefore desired time to consult.

For that purpose they were allowed till the next day; but they still made the same objection: at last they were indulged with the space of three weeks, with which they were

were required to give a full and satisfactory answer; and either acknowledge the justice of Edward's pretensions, or advance whatever they might have to say against it.

At the expiration of that term, they assembled on a plain in the parish of Upsett-lynton on the Scotish side of the Tweed, opposite to the castle of Norham, where the king had taken up his quarters. The bishop of Bath and Wells was sent to learn the result of their deliberations, and demanded, whether they had any charter or evidence to produce against the superiority and direct dominion which Edward claimed over the kingdom of Scotland.

As they did not think proper to mention any objections, the prelate took it for granted that they really had none; and addressing himself to Robert Brus, lord of Anandale, one of the most powerful of the claimants, asked if he was willing to acknowledge Edward as lord-paramount of Scotland, and submit the decision of the contest to him in that quality. Robert replied in the affirmative.

The same question being put successively the other competitors who were present, namely, Florence count of Holland, John Hastings, lord of Abergaveny, Patrick Dun-

bar, earl of March, William de Ros, Robert de Pinkney, Nicholas de Soules, and to the proxy of William de Vescy, they all made the same declaration, as did likewise John Baliol, lord of Galloway, next day upon his arrival.

His superiority being thus recognized by the competitors, including John de Comin, who now appeared and gave in his claim, which was readily admitted, he demanded to be put in possession of all the forts and castles in the kingdom, alledging, that without this concession, he should not be able to execute sentence, which, after a fair and impartial trial, he should think proper to pronounce.

This demand, extravagant and unreasonable as it was, the Scottish nobility were so foolish as to grant; a measure which must appear the more dangerous, as Edward had openly declared, that though in the present contest he acted as lord-paramount of Scotland, he did not relinquish his own pretensions to the crown of that kingdom, but reserved to himself a power of asserting his right wherever he should find a favourable opportunity.

The next step was to regulate the manner of proceeding in the trial; and the competitors agreed that forty persons should be

be named by Robert de Brus, as many by Baliol and Comin, and four and twenty by king Edward, to examine into the pretenſions of the claimants, and make their report to the arbitrators.

Accordingly, the commiſſioners were immediately choſen, and the ſecond day of Auguſt fixed as the time for the meeting of the court which was to be held in the town of Berwick. But before they left Norham, the regents of Scotland and the governours of the caſtles delivered up their commiſſions to Edward, who reſtored them with ſome little alteration, and conſtituted the biſhop of Caithneſs high-chancellor, joining with him one of his own ſecretaries, named Walter de Hammondeſham.

At the ſame time all thoſe who enjoyed poſts in Scotland, were ordered to come and take the oath of allegiance to Edward, who now exacted it from the claimants and all preſent; and then repairing to Berwick, he publiſhed a declaration, importing, that though he had agreed to decide the preſent controverſy within the kingdom of Scotland, he did not intend to confine himſelf to that reſtriction for the future.

The commiſſioners being aſſembled on the day appointed, in preſence of his majeſty, received the claims of the ſeveral

competitors; but as the chief conteſt lay between Baliol and Brus, we ſhall paſs over the pretenſions of the others, and content ourſelves with obſerving that Baliol pretended to the crown, as grandſon of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of David earl of Huntington, brother to king William, whoſe poſterity was extinct in the perſon of the laſt queen Margaret, maid of Norway.

Brus alledged that he was one degree nearer, as being the grandſon of David by his ſecond daughter, whereas his rival was no more than the great grandchild; that Alexander II. had appointed him his ſucceſſor, in the event of his dying without iſſue; and that Alexander III. had always conſidered and treated him as preſumptive heir to the crown; a circumſtance which he undertook to prove, by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons of unqueſtionable veracity.

The commiſſioners having peruſed the different claims, and heard the arguments advanced by the parties, made their report to his majeſty, who, with the conſent of the competitors, prorogued the aſſembly to the month of June in the enſuing year, at which time he propoſed to examine the validity

validity of their titles, and bring the matter to a final concluſion.

This delay was owing to the death of Edward's mother, who was interred at Ambreſbury with great ſolemnity, the king in perſon attending the funeral, with all the prelates and nobility of the realm.

The fifteenth, granted at the expulſion of the Jews, having been levied only in thoſe parts of England which were immediately ſubject to the crown, commiſſions were iſſued for aſſeſſing it upon the counties palatine of Cheſhire and Pembroke, the principality of Wales, and the eſtates belonging to Engliſh noblemen in Ireland. At the ſame time, all who were poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year in land, were ſummoned to come and receive the honour of knighthood at Chriſtmas.

Gilbert, earl of Glouceſter, had lately built a caſtle on the lands of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who, complaining of this injury in the king's court, Edward reſerved the cognizance of the cauſe to himſelf, and, in the mean time, forbade the parties to violate the peace of the country. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, Gilbert's vaſſals took to arms, and, with banner diſplayed, invaded Humphrey's

phrey's territories in Brecknockſhire, ravaging the country with great barbarity. Humphrey's tenants retaliated, by invading the lands of Glouceſter in Glamorganſhire; daily ſkirmiſhes happened between the contending parties; and the whole neighbourhood was involved in bloodſhed and confuſion.

The king being informed of this diſturbance, iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion for enquiring into the facts, which were aſcertained by a legal verdict of jurors; and the inqueſt being returned to his majeſty, the two earls were ſummoned to Ambreſbury, to anſwer for their violation of the public peace in open contempt of the king's inhibition.

Another enquiry was made before Edward himſelf and his council at Abergaveny; and both earls being found guilty were taken into cuſtody, and their liberties ſeized into the king's hands. They were diſmiſſed, however, upon giving bail for their appearance at Weſtminſter on the ſeventh day of January;* when the cauſe being tried before the council, it was decreed that the liberties of Glamorgan and Brecknock ſhould be forfeited, during the lives

* A. D. 1292.

lives of the earls, who were to be confined in prison till ransomed, at the king's pleasure. Hereford compounded for a thousand marks; but Gloucester, who had been the aggressor, was obliged to give security for paying ten times that sum before he could obtain his liberty.

The End of the ELEVENTH VOLUME.